

FROEBEL'S LETTERS ON THE KINDERGARTEN

EMILIE MICHAELIS,

AND

H. KEATLEY MOORE, B.A., B. MUS.,



W. N. HAILMANN
MEMORIAL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



Nora Archibald Smith

July 18th, 1895.

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FROEBEL'S
LETTERS ON THE KINDERGARTEN.

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20 FROEBEL'S
LETTERS ON THE KINDERGARTEN //

"It would be an everlasting loss if the treasures which lie in Friedrich Froebel were allowed to perish. He is a jewel, a pearl of price."

(Dr. Adolf Diesterweg.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN EDITION OF 1887

Editor, HERMANN POESCHE, *School-Inspector to the Orphanage Board of Berlin*

EDITED AND ANNOTATED

Mine.

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GERMAN EDITOR'S PREFACE.

JAN 13 1936
 RIEDRICH FROEBEL expressed his desire to his wife that his letters should be collected and published after his death, to which end he himself carefully preserved several of his last letters. His widow, Madame Luise Froebel, has conscientiously executed his wish. In response to an appeal which she made to those friends of Froebel who were known to have letters of the educational philosopher in their possession, she received a large amount of his correspondence.

WILLIAM N. HALLMANN RECEIVED LIBRARY
 Madame Froebel (who lives in Hamburg) has made most careful copies of all these letters; and thus, at last, a fairly comprehensive collection of Froebel's Letters is in existence. I was requested by Madame Froebel, as a service I might render to the cause so dear to us, carefully to examine the letters and to prepare them for the press, with some accompanying words of my own. As a disciple of the Thuringian educationist, who had the good fortune thrice, during 1850 and 1851, to study with Froebel in his house at Marienthal, near the Liebenstein Spa, who am bound to the highest gratitude towards this ever dear fatherly friend, and who therefore would not willingly omit any opportunity to manifest my love and reverence for the master, I have accepted the request of Madame Froebel.

I should mention that I have withheld the earlier letters, written between 1811 and 1834, although they are of great general importance, and have only published here those letters which relate to the Kindergarten, because, as Madame Froebel justly remarks, "In existing Kindertagens the genuine Froebelian spirit is too often wanting, while it is just in these very letters that

the special features of the Kindergarten system are truly set forth."

Madame Froebel, in her deep reverence for her husband's memory, has regarded the publication of these letters "as the most important work of her life which yet remained to be done."¹ I shall therefore conclude this Preface with some words which certainly came from the bottom of her heart, and which embody her dearest hope: "That it may be vouchsafed to us that these Letters, becoming known to wider and ever wider circles, may bring blessings to many children."

HERMANN POESCHE.

¹ Madame Luise Froebel (Friedrich Froebel's second wife) was born in Osterode, in the Harz district, in the year 1815, and was married to Froebel in 1851. For some years she had taken great interest in Froebel's educational plans, visited Keilhau in 1845 as a friend of Christian Froebel's family, kept up a correspondence afterwards with Froebel himself on educational matters, and finally received an appointment from him as directress of his Kindergarten Training College for ladies at Liebenstein, in 1849. She was left a widow by his death in 1852, and has ever since spent her whole energy in forwarding the Kindergarten system. She has never been very rich in this world's goods, and it was an exceedingly graceful act of the late Emperor Frederick of Germany to find time, in the few weeks of his reign, filled with cruel sufferings as they were, to think of the aged widow of the illustrious German educationist, and to provide for the remaining years of her life by the pension which she now enjoys. The great interest felt by the late emperor in the Kindergarten system was always understood to be largely inspired by his wife (our own Princess Royal), who still continues her active sympathy with the cause.

PREFACE

(BY THE ENGLISH EDITORS).

IT has seemed to us unworthy to let the *Jubilee of the Kindergarten* pass without some recognition in England ; some tribute, however slight, offered to the memory of the great educationist whose work we are trying to carry forward. Hence the appearance of the present little book—a faithful translation of the German edition of “Froebel’s Letters,” published at Vienna, in 1887, by Herr Poesche. Some additional impetus to the work was also given us by the fact that Herr Poesche is personally known to one of us ; and we are able gratefully to acknowledge his ardour and success in the Froebelian propaganda.

It is now just FIFTY YEARS since Froebel opened the first Kindergarten at Blankenburg, in 1840. Fourteen years passed before we saw the first Kindergarten in England (1854). But one generation of Englishmen has passed away since that, and yet in this short time, with all the inertive force of insular and conservative England to strive against, hampered at the same time by a foreign name, by foreign interpreters, and by much that was foreign in its actual working detail, the Kindergarten has struck deep root in our land, and has already, so to speak, acclimatised itself. Its foreign name has been adopted, and is now reckoned as very good English. Those who remain to us of its foreign interpreters—the ladies to whose enterprising exertions we owe so much, have also become as good Englishwomen as any others ; its foreign details have entirely disappeared, and we have now a vigorous and thoroughly national *English Kindergarten*. The strictly *German Kindergarten* which, as these Letters show, was the original conception of Froebel, had already widened out

rapidly as it developed in his own mind, until he left it to the world as an educational movement limited to no race or clime. In our time has been taken the further step in the course of development which was imperatively necessary if the Kindergarten was to live out of Germany ; namely, the adaptation of the original German form of the movement to the special racial and linguistic peculiarities of the various nations who have adopted it. In other words, we have now, instead of a translation, a re-created work, and instead of a strange, beautiful system, appreciated by a few cultured people, an every-day, familiar method, rapidly extending even into the schools of the poorest of our fellow-citizens. That first English Kindergarten of 1854, which for so many years had but few companions, widely scattered, and coming slowly to the birth one by one, has now developed into at least two hundred, even if we exclude a large number of classes which are still imperfect ; and the number is rapidly increasing.

But under all the special differentiation which is happily thus arising to meet the educational needs of the various races and nations of men, the great principles of the Kindergarten system remain unchanged ; and these principles can be best studied in the form in which Froebel himself set them forth. *Traduttore, traditore*, says the Italian proverb—"Translator means traitor"—and the interpreter, all too often, imitates Plato, developing his theme in his own fashion, until the original Sokrates has become quite unrecognisable. We have, therefore, left unaltered the peculiarities of our Sokrates, even such as are most unattractive ; that is, we have not abbreviated Froebel's diffuseness, nor omitted his repetitions, nor cleared his mysticism, nor modernised his antique philosophy, nor corrected his absurd symbolic etymology. We have presented him with all his faults, for these are a part of the man ; and our object is to make manifest the real, the great-hearted Froebel, that his disciples may come to know him, and love him, just as he was, even to love him, it may be, somewhat in spite of himself.

Let not the student of the Kindergarten system be discouraged by the grievous faults of Froebel's style. The man was, as it

were, dumb, so far as regards clear, nervous, readily intelligible speech ; but though he could not properly say it, he had always infinitely much to say. Every letter of this series is a pearl of price, wretchedly set : let not the student regard only the poor setting, and meanwhile overlook the pearl. We smile at the derivation of *hübsch* and *schön* (p. 79) ; but we find in this very same letter the immensely valuable model-lesson (pp. 83-85), which is pregnant with counsel that a student should "grapple to her heart with hooks of steel." With what glad surprise such passages will come to those who have known Froebel only at second-hand, through the formalised "dry bones" (dry, even if necessary) of Köhler's "praxis," or some such medium, and who now, for the first time, see in his own words, how well he himself knew the secret of making those dry bones live. The lofty purpose of Froebel, his intense earnestness, his incessant work, his simple life, his trivial pecuniary reward, his purely religious spirit, his never-failing faith and courage, even under intense depression—all these features of the great man are vividly and unconsciously set forth in the ensuing Letters. We feel how much easier it would have been, both for us and our readers, if we could have written out the whole afresh ; but we are, at the same time, convinced that earnest students will find a greater reward in mastering the book as it stands. Nowhere else can we find so much accurate information about the last years of the master's work, and especially about his inner life at this period, as in these Letters ; nowhere else can we procure these interesting details of the creation of the Kindergarten, or witness, growing under our eyes, bit by bit, the formation of the methods which are now so familiar to us all : nowhere else can we get such proof of Froebel's infinite painstaking over every point, which, as we are told, is one mark of the man of genius. It is also very impressive to note the supreme value Froebel attaches to the main principle of Unity in Education—unity at any given period, or "all-sidedness," as he calls it, every faculty and power duly taken into account ; as well as unity of the whole life, which must be an ordered progression, every grade a development from the preceding grade, and all grades of equal importance, from the cradle to the grave. This principle,

in one or another shape, is emphasized in almost every letter ; its importance must make us forgive the constant repetition.

We may note that according to English conventional usage, we have throughout translated *Frau* and *Fräulein* by *Madame* and *Mademoiselle* ; and have spoken of children always in the masculine gender.

If any error should be discovered by our readers we shall be much obliged if it can be signified to Mr. H. K. Moore, at 104, Bishopsgate Street Within, London, that we may correct it in future editions.

To add to the usefulness of this volume we have prepared a full index, and have also included a reprint, with additions and corrections, of the Chronological Abstract which appeared in our "Autobiography of Froebel," and which has been found of value.

EMILIE MICHAELIS.


H. KEATLEY MOORE.

The Croydon Kindergarten, 1890.

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IN THIS VOLUME IN THE ORDER OF THE DATES AT
WHICH THEY WERE WRITTEN.

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INTRODUCTION.¹

O the better understanding and appreciation of these Letters it may be as well to preface them by shortly setting forth some of the most distinctive principles of Froebel's educational system.

The old German schools and teaching methods took no account of children under school age. And even in the schools themselves only the learning by rote of words and of some few abstract notions, together with a little merely mechanical knowledge, were cultivated. The traditional teaching thus given to the children they were expected to give back in the same words; like the housewife who puts linen away in the chest and takes it out again when required. The old schools were but schools of *words*. Such mechanical abstract teaching left undeveloped the intuitive observing powers, and the mind lay lifeless as regards original perception. The child's faculties were not stimulated to freer development, but were fettered and paralysed. Incessant cramming made the children lazy and disinclined for effort, and mere continued repetition and passive reception of teaching killed that natural longing which all children possess for acting out their own conceptions, for pursuing their own inquiries, and for making their own discoveries; so that on leaving school they had gained little or nothing to help them in life, or at all events were unable to bring what they had learned into any practical use.

Then came Heinrich Pestalozzi with his "intuitive method," that is, teaching by means of observation (*Anschauungs Unterricht*). With inexhaustible love and enthusiasm he devoted himself to

¹ By Herr Poesche, the German Editor.

children under school age. He wrote books to help mothers to educate their children; indeed, he created in these mothers' books the ideal of the mother-teacher in the character of Gertrude ("How Gertrude Teaches her Children"). By means of the principles of his "intuitive method" he gave a new foundation to the old verbal and notional teaching of the schools. In place of the lifeless learning of facts in cut and dried sentences, he put learning by original observation; for passive cramming he substituted active discovery, genuine mental work. In their enthusiasm for the new principle some fanatics went the length of attempting to bring all teaching whatever under the "intuitive method," as if it were the Alpha and Omega of educational reform.

But in these days we can see that the "intuitive method" is only one of the main elements of school teaching—an all-important one, it is true, yet after all, only one amongst several.

Pestalozzi's great disciple, Friedrich Froebel, followed in the footsteps of his master with keen intelligence and laborious industry; but he went further still, attaining to a new and higher development, based upon fresh psychological foundations, and elaborated with deeper thought. He dedicated his loftiest powers, when he had reached an advanced age, to the family, to the children beneath school age, to the mothers, because he desired to begin from the very beginning in a thorough manner. His greatest work is not confined to speeches nor books, but comprises the plastic use of material and the founding of a new educational institution—"The Kindergarten." He is not a reformer of the art of teaching only, but of the entire theory of education.

Froebel aimed at the complete education of man, as well in regard to physical Nature as to mankind and to God, through the three fundamental principles of human existence—Doing, Thinking, and Feeling. In arranging these after a psychological order, he placed doing first. The man, the child, is to him therefore before all else an active and a creative being, not a learning and a knowing one. Knowing, perceiving, must spring to life, must burst into power from doing. A hundred times and more

does he return to this fundamental principle, ever setting it forth in some new light. On account of its immense importance a few of Froebel's remarks on this subject may be quoted here, *verbatim*.

(a) "A system of education worthy of mankind must place man, in early life, according to the demands of Nature, amid such relationships and spheres of action that he can show forth his being externally to himself, by Creating and Doing; and in such-wise may come to a knowledge of himself."

(b) "The working hours of each day, of teacher and pupils alike, must be divided between handwork, that is, work aiming at the production of tangible objects, and headwork, that is, learning and instruction."

(c) "Therefore, in the first place, must instruction, the learning and teaching of pupils and master, spring from their own labour and hand-work, so that teaching may rest upon actual life."—(From a letter to Dr. Hohebaum of 5th November, 1827.)

(d) "In primary or national education, must in every case the Doing, the Thing Done, the Teaching and the Learning rest on actual fact and on real existence, so that the mental intelligence incessantly striving upwards in single things as in its general career may thereby expand and develop the life-giving creative power of the pupils according to the measure of their strength and ability, their talents and desires."—(Outlines of the Plan of a Model Charity School, Lange, i. p. 473.)

According to this principle, therefore, the child's conceptions, thoughts, and ideas must not remain locked within his own breast, but must, on the contrary, be outwardly expressed through hand-work, through construction and creation, in some tangible form. And *vice versâ*, natural and artistic objects must not be left as things outside the child's mind, but must be incorporated as part of his spiritual nature, through careful instruction. Froebel knits together into one short formula the two psychological opposites of doing and thinking, of art and science, thus: "The external or object world must become internal or subjective to the child, and the subject-world, in turn, become objective."

The activity, or doing, of a little child is expressed in the form of play. To the child's play, which is, as he says, "the very life of his heart," Froebel linked his earliest education in the nursery and the Kindergarten, and he sought out and found a group of toys and occupations (so interconnected as to form one ordered whole) wherewith to satisfy this play-activity, and so bring it to usefulness.

To aid the first tender putting-forth of will and movement by the infant, and to assist in the development of his body, and of his senses, Froebel places in the hand of the mother his "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs" (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*). Later on he brings the child into the company of other children, in the Kindergarten; so that in association with his companions he can gratify his dramatic instinct, his need of outward representation, through Song-games illustrating some suitable subject by the united powers of Verse, Tune and Action.

He would have the child spend much time in the garden at an early age, amongst open-air Nature, so that with spade and hoe and watering pot he may come into true practical relations with the world of plants, make his own observations, and by active work get together some experience-knowledge for himself, and learn to know the works of God. He trains the child's hand by giving him certain toys and occupations succeeding one another in a carefully planned order. These toys, which form an analytical series, will be found to be arranged in a descending order. They are (1) *Solids* (soft-ball, hard-ball, cylinder, cube, and five boxes of building bricks); (2) *Planes*, similar to those used in Chinese puzzles, wherein the plane surface is the predominant idea (squares and triangles—right-angled isosceles, right-angled scalene, equilateral, and obtuse scalene—in variously coloured wooden tablets); and finally (3) *Lines* (laths, sticks, rings and threads); and (4) *Points* (stones, shells, sand).

Whilst the child is busy at play with all the foregoing material, the material itself remains unchanged and forms no new product. Quite otherwise is it with the synthetic series formed by the occupations, which are arranged in an ascending order: (1) *Points* (pricking); (2) *Lines* (sewing, drawing, paper twisting, mat

plaiting, etc.) ; (3) *Planes* (paper folding, paper cutting, and pasting) ; (4) *Solids* (peawork, modelling in cardboard, modelling in clay). Here the material is changed under the child's hand, and with his simple tools he becomes able to produce some useful, pretty or instructive object ; for instance, he can weave a mat for a lamp to stand upon, or he can model a bird's nest with its eggs in clay, or he can draw on paper right angles, acute angles, or obtuse angles, etc.

As in Nature the water invites the young duckling to swim ; so does Froebel give the child this material wherewith he may satisfy the yearning for outward manifestation common to all children. The child can therefore give his conceptions a tangible form by the work of his own hands, and through this fact-representation he can strengthen himself for the perception and observation of the Good, the Beautiful and the True. Froebel's Kindergarten method consists in this, that the child learns to search for, to find out, and to invent forms and figures at his own free will, and in doing this he develops the active powers belonging to his nature, and forms his own individuality and character.

Friedrich Froebel, by virtue of this main element of representation which he has introduced into education, is to be recognised as the true artist amongst educationists. It is he who added on to the old German and to the Pestalozzian systems the first conception of the "A B C of manual activity," which Pestalozzi had sought for but had not found. And while, so long as there are children to be educated, the main educational principles of (a) verbal and notional learning and teaching, and (b) the intuitive method of teaching and learning, must always exist, so also, just as surely and as truly, must the Froebelian main principle of representation be joined with the two others before we can bring to completeness an universal, harmonious, and progressive educational system, and erect upon sure foundations a goal towards which henceforth and for all time the energies of teachers may be directed.

But the foregoing psychological conception of child-nature, with the whole Kindergarten organization which rests upon it, are

they well founded? Are there any touchstones which may prove the metal genuine—have we any external tests? Froebel was far too earnest and conscientious a thinker not to have sought after such touchstones wherewith to test his work and where possible to support it by the authority of recognised laws. He found that the physical development of a single individual went upon parallel lines with the development of physical nature, and that his mental development followed the same course as the history of civilisation. Physical nature and history then became his touchstones, wherewith to test these views upon the education of each single child; for this rested, as he believed, upon the foundations of general psychological and physical laws. I shall never forget that afternoon in 1851, in the Kursaal at the Liebenstein Spa, when Froebel arranged all his educational appliances on long tables, forming a completely developed series, and explained their meaning and exhibited their value to a large assembly, composed of his pupils of both sexes, and other friends. Amongst them were Diesterweg, the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, and Madame Henriette Schrader. Middendorf took down the speech Froebel made on this occasion and published it in the *Journal for Friedrich Froebel's Educational Aims* (No. I. p. 14). The peroration was as elevated in expression as it was profound in thought. It ran thus:—

“The whole of nature, up to the appearance of man, the whole of history from the beginning of the human race through all the past up till the present moment, and then still onwards, beyond us, to the next final consummation, when the development of man shall fall from the Tree of Life as a ripened fruit, whose kernel is the All, stands before my soul as a perfectly accurate and so to speak an exhaustive representation of true education.”

We have it laid down that the physical and mental development of man runs parallel with nature and history, and that these latter together form a type of the course of true education. Do our great discoverers in science, our great students of history warrant this statement? I will only refer in the briefest and most cursory manner to the discoveries of Comparative Anatomy (especially in the department of Embryology): whereby it

appears that the human embryo before birth passes through the chief forms of animal nature, from the lowest to the highest. And up to a certain period of embryonic development, there is not the slightest difference between the future child and other mammals. Later on, first slight then more important differences make their appearance, marking off the form as belonging to one of the higher animals ; and finally, quite at the end of embryonic life, not long before actual birth, appear those differences which distinguish the human infant from the young of the nearest allied animals. Therefore, in actual fact the bodily development of each one of us is in some measure an enormously compressed abridgment, a quick recapitulation of the creation of the higher vertebrate animals in its various stages. Is it not true, then, that the purely physical, purely animal development of man from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher, is "an exhaustive representation of true education"?

But we have here more especially to do with the mental development of man, which, according to Froebel's dictum, runs parallel with the educational history of the whole race. And, indeed, it is so. Each mind completely repeats in outline, and in quicker succession, the stages of mental growth passed through by the race. The mental development of any one man is in some measure but an enormously compressed abridgment, a quick recapitulation, of the educational development of mankind.

The discoveries in natural science, in prehistoric antiquities, and in the history of civilisation, as well as in the comparative study of national psychology, have in these days provided us with a host of corroborative facts. We may here consider just a few which bear upon our special subject of Kindergarten education, and use them to trace the mere outlines of development—not at all insisting capriciously upon any particular instances, nor intending by those about to be given to supersede other equally good illustrations.

Froebel would early place the child amidst open-air Nature, out of doors, in the garden. Here the child's glance rests first upon the world of plants, his hands naturally gravitate towards the soil, he forms a little bed to plant, and shows us the first

tender budding of a love of agriculture. Just so appeared primeval Man, in the open-air of God's garden of Eden, living upon the fruits that the trees yielded. Later on, he furrowed the earth with a bough, and enjoyed the vegetables he thus produced. Next Froebel strives by his "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs" (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), and by his ball-games, action-games, and marches, to train the muscles, the limbs, the senses. And (to proceed with our parallel) the continual and severe struggle for existence of primeval Man, the climbing, running and hunting which hard necessity compelled in order to obtain food, dwelling, and clothes, how they must have strained the sinews and sharpened the senses! What agility and bodily skill primeval Man shows in his expeditions of war or of the chase, in his mimetic, dramatic, and war dances! Froebel next puts finished material, in the form of toys (the so-called "gifts"), into the child's hand, and demands from him only the most simple form of play and thought, namely, to bring together several separate similar things, so as to form with them a Whole, full of beauty or of meaning, or to range them in orderly sequence. And it is precisely thus that the first artistic work of primeval Man occurs; he begins by the forming of simple rows, as strings of beads or of shells, for instance. If we would give further parallels, we might point out how Froebel's thin-coloured planes correspond with the mosaic wood or stone work of early Man; and how Froebel's laths, wherewith the child can form letters, correspond to the beech-staves (*buchenen Stäbchen*, now contracted to *Buchstaben*, i.e. letters of the alphabet) whereon were carved the runes and magic symbols of our primitive ancestors. For the "occupations," Froebel demands a much more difficult and complex manual labour from the child. The given material must be altered and transformed, and this can only be contrived by the help of simple *tools*: the wooden plaiting needle and modelling knife, the horn or ivory paper knife, the steel pricking needle, penknife, and scissors. Thus also did early Man arrive at more complicated work only by inventing tools and learning their use, and especially when by the knowledge of fire he could get metal tools and replace with them his primordial simple tools

of wood, bone, horn, and stone. The materials, first worked upon just as Nature provided them, in the crude state, are only in a late stage of civilisation prepared and transformed by mechanical, physical, and chemical processes. To take a concrete example, it is easy to trace the correspondence of the modelling in clay, the weaving and pricking of the Kindergarten occupations with the primeval arts of pottery, plaiting, and weaving, and puncturing (especially tattooing) of the earliest savages. The child, at first speechless, begins by singing, and not till later does he form articulate sounds. This is why Froebel gives such precedence to singing in the Kindergarten; puts drawing before writing; story telling before reading; this is why he first presents to the intelligence of the child only the lower numbers and concrete object-notions, derived from the observation of actual objects, and then widens these out, little by little, till more advanced numerical conceptions and abstract notions are arrived at. It is certain that like the infant, so also primeval Man was long without the faculty of speech. Then comes the question whether singing did not probably precede talking. Next succeeds a long time, when writing, as yet, was not, but during which drawing and painting were invented, and these led up to the discovery of the representation of language by symbols; and so, finally, to writing. Without writing, no means existed of securely transmitting knowledge, and Man often lost that which he had learned through experience; just as we see that the infant easily forgets what he acquires. But after the discovery of writing, Man possessed the means of a perfect record, and could easily break through that narrowly circumscribed body of symbols representing only the concrete and phenomenal, within which savages to this day remain bound—the wild men of protruding jaws, retreating foreheads, and imperfectly developed cerebral hemispheres. Soon came the book knowledge, book learning, giving the possibility of connected culture. Rapidly and surely were then enlarged the bounds of Number and of Thought, and the power of creating all those nobler spiritual and mental possessions of humanity enshrined in Art and Science.

Now, since the Kindergarten method conducts the child from its first spontaneous Doing, Creating, and Working, arising out of the needs of its play, onwards to Knowing and Learning, to the Book, to the School, surely Froebel had good right to assert (as we in the foregoing brief cursory comparison by parallels have also asserted) that "This course of education, this Educational System, declares itself to any testing, comparing glance as one which follows the course that Providence itself has taken in the development of the culture and the education of the human race, so far as this is at present known to us" (Lange, i. p. 473). Froebel had, in fact, the clearest possible perception of this parallelism between the development of one Man and that of Humanity, and did, in truth, imitate the ways of Providence in the methods of the Kindergarten; which is to our mind a fact full of deep meaning.

However, enough has been said by us of child-nature, its development and its education. Now let the Master himself speak, in his own manner, and with his own words, of

THE CHILD.

PART I.
THE CHILD.


THE CHILD.

TO MADAME EMILIE VON MARKWITZ, in North America.¹

1838.

“Charms that a chaste wife worketh, fain would I sing in my song !
Look at the babe, the suckling, playing in lap of his mother ;
Roguishly upturned his glances, listening, looking up to her,
And ever on him the mother’s fond eye rests, playing, responsive ;
So early victorious over the soul is the power of love.”

—*J. H. Eichholz.*

EAR MADAM,—

Real family life, the tender care of childhood, the education of children, are things which of themselves knit closely together the thought and work of parents with those of the practical educationist. Therefore I venture to think it will not surprise you, but will, on the contrary, seem to you quite natural, and fully justified by the claims of the great human purpose which links our lives, that I—who so cherish in my heart the lives of little children and of boys and girls, regarding them as the germs of true natural lives of men and women, and as the basis of the real life of the nation—that I, who so love to find myself in the nursery and the schoolroom, the inner sanctuaries of the family, should write to a true-hearted mother like yourself, even though I am not personally known to you.

But there is also another lofty and hallowed phase of life by

¹ In the German text this letter is headed “To Madame Emilie F., in N. A.”; that is, as explained, Madame Emilie Frankenberg, in North America, probably a sister-in-law of Adolf and Luise Frankenberg ; but by the kindness of Madame Froebel we have been able to ascertain that the real person addressed was not Madame Frankenberg, but Madame von Markwitz.

virtue of which I claim admission to your family life, so full of hope, so beautiful. This is my friendship with your husband, as full of manly and benevolent virtues as of right fatherly feelings, and with other members of your large family circle, who unite their efforts in the cause of education with the similar efforts of myself and my circle. And I hope, dear madam, that it may prove of some assistance to you in the harmonious self-development of your life that these friends, dear to both of us, should have confidentially imparted to me for our mutual edification some thoughts upon your joys and feelings as a mother, which your earnest motherly soul has expressed to them.

Indeed, dear madam, I have been deeply touched and much impressed. My sense of gratitude at once impelled me to express to you by letter some thoughts inspired by your confidences; thinking also that perhaps you might find amongst them something to assist your pure maternal aspirations.

My intention was quite definite, and I kept it carefully in mind; nevertheless, from the time I was favoured with the perusal of your esteemed letter up to the present, I have not found it possible to carry it out. But now my intention springs up afresh, as vigorous as ever, and insists upon being carried out; for I have just heard that another new young life has made its appearance in that large family circle of yours, so closely united by brotherly affection. Once again a new life has come to draw still closer your intimate union, purifying and elevating you all. Therefore I cannot further refrain from the execution of my long-deferred intention.

Closely following the lines of your letter, permit me to begin by an attentive consideration of the child's first appearance in the world,—of his

Birth.

The confidences which you have imparted to us begin by telling us how, amidst the joyful hope of bringing existence to a new human soul and the thought of your anticipated mother-joys, were mingled also thoughts of your own death. This confession, dear madam, affected me the more in that it contains a lofty and a true thought as well as a deep and a natural feeling. This

thought and this feeling we must by no means thrust into the background at those critical periods of our lives when we are responsible for the creation, for the birth, and for the care of a new young life ; but, on the contrary, we must calmly lay hold of them by their higher meaning, and bring ourselves to a clear knowledge of all that is involved in them. In this way also they will for ever cease to disturb, worry, and enfeeble us, and will, on the other hand, elevate, confirm, and strengthen us.

Firstly, without frightening ourselves, but pausing calmly with thoughtful glance before the flowers of the field, let us ask ourselves where we can find, either in physical Nature or in Human Life, that a new life comes into being except in connection with the downfall or annihilation of an earlier life.

Does not the hard seed-corn perish that the slumbering germ within it may spring to life ? Does not the blossom fall to pieces that the fruit may be nourished ?

Does not the maiden disappear to give place to the wife and mother ? Does not the life of fascinating hopes shrink back before the fruitful life of hard actual work ?

But again, do we not recognise the maiden, elevated and beautified, in the wife ? Does not the wife, and will she not always, come before us elevated and beautified in the mother ? How exquisitely and touchingly is this truth set forth in the Christian faith, where the Wife passes altogether out of sight in order that the Virgin may appear as Mother with the more perfect clearness.

What is the principle which underlies this undeniable, this ever renewed and returning fact, that with the coming of birth death also invariably appears ? It is this—that we must recognise, amidst the changing the Permanent, amidst the phenomenal the Absolute, amidst the transitory the Eternal, and amidst fleeting individual existences the everlasting Type. That, to go further, it is indeed only from the fear of the changing, the phenomenal, the transitory, and the individual that there arises a yearning, a longing, an intuition, a conception of the Permanent, of the Absolute, of the Eternal, and of the everlasting Type. Herein, then, for us men, lies the profoundest meaning of changing and phenomenal Nature, that physical Nature which is

so full of transitory and individual existences. Besides, in intimate correspondence with Nature and the life of Nature, that which perishes only reappears in fuller perfection in the succeeding stage of development. It is thus, in the fulfilment of this Divine ordering, that the expression of physical Nature becomes so full of peace and joy.

Your fearful imaginings amidst your life so full of hope form a speaking proof, dear madam, of the intimate and manifold way in which one's whole existence and life are interwoven with the great life of Nature, and carry within them and cherish her universal laws. The maiden, called upon to become a bestower of happiness as wife, a being happy in herself as mother, must not shrink from feeling herself at one with the lofty, noble life of Nature; nay, to acquire this feeling must be her sacred duty. Moreover, she must so feel, not in a partial and intermittent manner, but wholly and always; for it is through this life of Nature that God speaks and works. The more she does this, the more she feels that she herself exists in the midst of the great universal life, and that she too is a member of it, so much the more will she become a happy mother, and better than a happy mother; namely, a mother who makes others happy round her in a wide-stretching circle. This union with the life of Nature is to be found in fullest expression in the history of man's development amongst the many lofty typical examples of noble women.

Permit me, dear madam, through you to speak to all maidens approaching their entrance into married life, to all wives cherishing the dearest of hopes within their bosom, and to use your example as a means of pointing out a great truth to them:—*To rest in perfect trust upon Nature is the way to obtain the freshness of life and health under all relations.* May no maiden lose this faith in Nature; and if she cannot consciously put it into words, may she be able to express it in manifold ways in her life and to show it forth in deeds!

But there was a second thing which powerfully moved me in regard to this fear which pervaded your letter—that the birth of a new life would perhaps cost you your own. It was the thought, thrust into prominence by that feeling, and intimately connected

with it that you might be about to burden your dear husband with the charge of a new life, unsupported by the true mother's care. And this thought is yet more deeply stimulating than the feeling we have already considered, for it does not concern itself with anxiety over one's own life, but over the life of a stranger; and not merely, indeed, the life of a stranger, already existent in this outward world, but a new young life as yet in darkness and concealment, still slumbering on the bosom of the future.

By the feeling previously considered, you were at one with Nature, and by this thought you are at one with Man, with the human race; for it is a truly humane thought, whose point of union, centre and kernel, is *Life*, Man and Human Life; it is a thought which gathers up into the idea of the *child* the lives of yourself, your child, and your husband; a thought which wholly lives in you and in which you wholly live; a thought wherein you find all things, and wherein, for you, all things are absorbed.

Ah, how I wish that this feeling might be held in common with you by all wives, rich in maternal hopes! My soul longs that every one of them should possess this feeling as a point of relation for each thought and act of hers,—that her whole life, as well as yours, might be absorbed by this thought, and that she, too, might find all within it. And while the feeling of Oneness with Nature, which we first considered, would lead up to a thoroughly strong and healthy race, this thought of the human lives united in manifold ways in the person of the child would give to that race a right manly noble life and being. The race of man would blossom forth in new splendour if such conceptions once became general; ah, would they could!

There is yet one more thing that strongly affected me in reading your sisterly confidences; and that is, the child-like thankfulness which you express to your beloved departed mother, for her love and care of long ago; yes, and for her fears and toils for you, since to these you owe your being, your life, your present great happiness. How shall I express forcibly enough the elevating thoughts which rose within me, awakened by these confidences welling up fresh from your life and from your inmost soul? I could already see how (from the feeling we first considered) you show

yourself at one with Nature, and how (from the second) at one with Mankind and human life, and I was now led to see how, by this third phase of thought, you express your feeling of close union with mankind when considered as grouped into families, and as elevated, moreover, through this conscious grouping, into a higher unity. From out the faithful cherishing of the family life springs the true national spirit, and from out a truly national spirit finally arises the conception of the universal brotherhood of man. May many children, therefore, feel the emotions of gratitude towards their parents which you have expressed, and especially may the minds of daughters be filled with thankfulness towards their mothers ; and then, again, may parents be thankful towards their children, and onwards to their grandchildren ! Thus will arise upon sure foundations, laid deep in human hearts, a real national life, by which the brotherhood of man will be furthered and broadened. How glad were I if all wives, and especially those rich in maternal hopes and those already surrounded by affectionate children, could be brought to think of themselves in their quality of daughters, and to be penetrated with sentiments such as those you have expressed to us in so filial a manner in your confidences ; then should we see each family cherishing grateful love and remembrance of their parents, and so cultivating the true national spirit and the sentiment of the brotherhood of all mankind which would spring forth from the family circle in youth and vigour perpetually renewed. But a deep feeling of the universal brotherhood of man, what is it but a true sense of our close filial union with God ?

If I search out, dear madam, the emotions which have swayed your mother's breast when thinking of the child you were about to welcome, and if I examine them in their likeness and in their unlikeness also, I find that it is *Love, Hope, and Faith* which accompany the new-born babe on his entrance into life. You greeted him with Love, love of his life and of his being. You greeted him with Faith, with the beautiful faith that the life of his father, his ancestors, his nation, his race, the very source and fountain of life, would enter into his life and be bound up with it in fuller clearness and completeness. And you greeted him with

the joyful Hope that health, bodily strength, and many various faculties might be vouchsafed to him. Thus, with this threefold emotion, should every happy mother welcome into existence the gift which God has given her.

How beautifully connected with what has just been said is the immediately succeeding event in the life of the new little citizen of earth,—his

Baptism,

as you have been so good as to picture it for us in your letter.

What deep meaning is involved in the fact that you bring us back at once into the family, indeed, into the very family living-room itself! The Family must always be considered as the supporter and cherisher of the true life of mankind, and as that which moulds the true life of the world; and the family living-room is the inner sanctuary where the human soul is aroused and prepared for this double career. But, moreover, the family and the family-room appear in your charming sketch of a christening as neither isolated nor isolating; not cut off by the four walls from the general life of Nature, nor from the higher life of humanity. Quite on the contrary, all are closely knit into one whole. The business cupboard and writing-table of the father of the family, and the family store-closet, are alike shut close; and instead of appearing as the familiar sights of the work-a-day and family life we find them now covered with flowers, delighting us with the peace of their still life, and with the joy of their beauty. Thus is Nature with her wealth of flowers brought within the family living-room, thus has she pierced through the barrier between her and it, to show herself as the sanctuary and cherisher of life that she is.

But the room first puts on its full meaning when we observe the mother's work-table, covered with a lily-white cloth, on which, in the midst of a wreath of rosebuds, stands the shining, round, white bowl adorned with golden circles and filled with clear sparkling water. This is the place where the highest consecration of the life of the youthful citizen of the world and new member of the human family is now to be received by him in virtue of the religion of the Three-fold Life in Unity, and amidst those friends who will help him on his path through life.

How full of meaning, how touching is all this as told us by your motherly love, and how clearly does it all seem to stand before our eyes ! I can see every detail, from the white rose-bedecked cloth, symbol of the spotless pure white page of life now to be adorned with the roses of love, to the transparent water which rests upon it, symbol of the transparent soul and mind of crystal clearness which shall hover above that life and pervade it.

As a member of Nature and natural life, as a member of Humanity and human life, and as a member of that collective mental and spiritual life which springs from God, and rests also in Him, the new-born babe thus receives the consecration of his existence. The love, faith, and hope which welcomed him into existence, welcome him also to this holy and manifold entwining of his life with the source and wellspring of all life, with God. And further, who could set forth worthily the symbolic sense according to which this crystal water, drawn from an ever-flowing spring, typifies all Nature as she appears in union with him and welcoming him ?

What child, after so pure and holy a life-union and life-consecration would not be able to enter upon

Life

with pure and holy soul ?

And indeed you, happy mother, have set before us in a charming manner the entrance into life of your new-born babe, your firstling.

How touchingly, when the pain and suffering come to mind which the existence of this little one has cost you, do you dismiss them at once with the thought, " But the life of such a dear little baby makes me forget it all ! "

How touching it is also when you bethink yourself of the new phases of life and work which this darling awakes in his father ; and when you are sorry for the additional burden thus set upon your husband, and yet at the same time you are glad to see him develop all these fresh emotions of watchful care which correspond to the new relations of life which now surround him ! For the inmost depths of his true and manly character are thus

laid bare to you, and you feel how much too poor a gift to such a noble heart were that of your own love only, and you rejoice therefore that you can bring him, in addition, his and your child to reward him. What a bond of love and life have we here !

An important thing it is, indeed, when we consider how, in life, the claims of new duties received and fulfilled through love and by love, at once develop new powers, new faculties, new means of action, in men ; and in proportion to the demand which his duty makes upon a man and to the strength which is taken out of him in fulfilling that duty, is the immediate return to him of something higher and stronger, which comes to him out of this very effort. Yes, it is so ; new claims upon one's life, rightly considered, awake in a true-hearted man new powers and new faculties. }

Oh, would that all of us, and especially the younger men, could recognise the truth of this great law of nature in all its bearings, and apply it to all the new claims upon us which spring up and meet us in our path through life ! And may such views of life, such convictions of the compensating power life possesses, always be with you in your own life, especially as mother and as wife.

Amid such protecting care, in such hands, and led by such guidance, even the youngest child soon feels himself strong. What pleasure you have given us by your narrative, telling how the little five-weeks-old baby, resting snugly sheltered in his father's arms, and watched over by the loving care of his mother, takes his first ride out of doors amidst the bright physical Nature which is the handiwork of God. This entrance into the temple of Nature, amidst such circumstances, cannot work otherwise than for good upon the general development of the child, and must be full of healthful results and impressions. Here, too, we must remark the friendly human sympathy with which the young world-citizen is welcomed upon this first little journey of his, shown in the proffered congratulations of the passers-by.

As you thus contemplate your child amidst life, amidst Nature, there awakes in your mother's heart anxiety about his right

training for life. "The child must be *good*,"¹ that is your most earnest maternal resolve, your most engaging maternal hope, and "that nothing may be omitted towards this end, so far as lies in you," you seek for counsel and advice, wherever you may be able to discover it near you, around you. Yet, however near counsel may be found amongst those around you, there is a counsellor yet nearer to you, or to any mother who will listen and attend to its warnings; I speak of the counsel of your own heart, your own soul, your own intellect, so often buried, or distorted, or weakened by the varied influences of life, the prejudices, the habits, the customs that enchain us all. Through all these, nevertheless, can this counsel be discerned by the faithful mother-instinct; sometimes speaking out directly in the voice of the heart, of the soul, without artifice or disguise; sometimes only made manifest by a comprehensive glance which compares together the child's life and its demands, the mother's own life, and the life of nature, and scrutinizes the present and the past as well as the future. The Good and True, moreover, is innate from the first in the human soul, but can only be made clear, and brought out from the depths into the light by a searching and comparing glance directed generally into the manifold relations of life, and into the child's soul, and specially into the claims of his eager desire for activity. For it is by cherishing carefully, thoughtfully, and in well-devised ways, such as shall embrace the whole being of the child, this unceasing desire of his for activity, that we shall encourage him to be good rather than by any other method we can contrive; through this also that we shall best ward off the mischievous from him and his surroundings. In this connection, never forget—try and make it clear to your own intelligence by long-continued observation of nature and life—*That all healthy and fresh developing and forming in life occur on the border of (or, as it were, in the midst between) two worlds.* For example, the tree, or any such organism, grows with its roots in the earth dark as night, while it thrusts its top, covered with twigs and leaves, high into

¹ So our own Kingsley, "Be *good*, dear child, and let who will be clever."

the clear sunlit air. On the borders, in between the kingdoms of the earth and the air, of darkness and light, the tree, like all the vegetable world, develops the beauty of its flowers, the wealth of its fruit. Brightness and gloom, day and night, rigid fixed earth and spirit-like breathing air are opposites which not only ever surround the child and the man, but which the man has to know and to recognise for the invariable conditions under which the whole world of nature, either actual or phenomenal, can alone endure and become perpetual, and which therefore are the conditions of all existence whatsoever upon the globe. All things, even spiritual or mental phenomena, will become more clearly and perfectly known through the right comprehension of these opposites, and the development of man's being will proceed with greater freedom; indeed, can only then proceed with perfect freedom. For in the first category—that, namely, of the surroundings of man—does not the right distribution of light and shade enhance the beauty and expressiveness of every landscape? And in the second, that of man's own inner being, is not the insight into the permanent and the enduring made clear and firm because of our perception of the change which always surrounds us, and of the things which perpetually vanish before our eyes? And is not the conviction, nay, the logical necessity of the spiritual unity of all Being brought home to us by the very consideration of the separateness and disjunction of the things of the outer world? Therefore, noble-hearted mother, be anxious only for this—that, since all opposites find their solution and reconciliation in your own harmonising and harmonious soul and intelligence, so also your darling one may acquire in his turn, through refinement of feeling and the practice of good, these joy-bringing, peace-attaining treasures for his soul. The child's life, the common life between the child and the mother, early gives, nay, very early indeed, motives and opportunities for such development; and, moreover, opportunities lie also in the many-sided commerce of the child with life and with physical nature.

Still one more thing, dear madam, permit me to add to what I have said above. In nature, in life, and in the phenomena both of nature and of life, the everlasting force of destiny is

paramount. We, as Christians, call this the everlasting dispensation and guidance of Providence, and when this coincides with the expression of our inmost thought, we receive and acknowledge through it and in it, to our great blessing, the voice and the will of God; the manifestation of God, in nature and in life.

Now, in the same way that nature and life enfold us who are grown up, so do the actions and the lives of his parents enfold every child.

You, yourself, madam, supply the proof of this assertion in your simple motherly remarks, when in your mother's joy you write, "My little one, scarce two months old, already begins to act as though he wished to talk; he purses up his little mouth or widens it to its broadest; he looks as if he already understood when I speak to him." Indeed, he does understand you, thoughtful, observant mother! Your eye and your face are almost more to him than the sight of the sun's blaze or of the shining moon were to the first man.

That is why the child so gladly gazes in the eyes of his mother and father, and sets such store by their answering glance. In your countenance he reads, proportionably to his stage of mental development, what the thoughtful adult man reads on a starlit night in the thickly studded shining heavens;¹ the clouding of your face is the same to him as the clouding of a clear sky is to us; the clearing of your face is as joyful to him as is to us the return of the dazzling radiance of the sun pouring down upon the re-awakened earth. Just as the expression of Nature is the true manifestation of God to a thoughtful and observant man, so to the child the glances, the appearance, the actions of his parents combine to make up a manifestation of a higher life.

Let us then make it our anxious care that the child shall early become conscious of the firm rule of destiny, which abides in him and works in him, an ever-present Providence pervading his

¹ The illustrious Kant used to say, "Two things fill my soul with ever-increasing wonder and awe the more often I behold them: the starry heavens above me, and the sense of right and wrong within me" (*Sämmtliche Werke*, Lips., 1838; viii. 312).

life ; in which, in full accord with the unsophisticated expression of his inmost soul, he may recognise to his great blessing the voice and the will of God. Then will every individual man reach the goal whither humanity is tending ; and even should he stray or stumble here and there, yet in the main will he reach that goal by the path pointed out to him. Indeed, mankind has already partially realized this mission, and will in the future still more nearly realize it, by the operation of the methods that God has chosen for the teaching of our race.

But why, I hear your womanly modesty and motherly simplicity ask, why this public answer to sisterly confidences, which were rather the outpouring of a joyous spirit than a formal letter intended for wide circulation ?

For this reason, dear madam ; that the feelings expressed in your sisterly letter have lived and still surely live in the hearts of many noble mothers ; and therefore, perfectly natural as are these feelings to every pure maternal bosom, they deserve that their repose and harmony, their many-sided nature, and their lofty and important relations with humanity should be appreciated and made known ; and moreover, by this means they may come to be even more tenderly cherished.

My having spoken through you, anxious mother, to many noble-hearted mothers who feel like yourself about one of the most important circumstances affecting mankind, will therefore, after all, I hope, seem right even to your womanly modesty, or at least will receive your indulgence.

That your dear baby, as he acquires consciousness, may grow to feel himself to be in life and soul a member of his own family, of his nation, and also of mankind ; and that his spirit may early acknowledge that he is a child of Nature, of Mankind, and of God ; this is my heartfelt wish, and with it I close this letter, which I take the liberty to send you publicly, with cordial greetings to your beloved husband, and to your much-respected family.

FR. FROEBEL.

PART II.

FOUNDATION AND CONSTRUCTION.

FOUNDATION AND CONSTRUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.¹

THE foundation of the Kindergarten and its bringing to life was accomplished slowly and painfully, amidst much heavy outward and inward conflict. The ground plan had been determined by Froebel as early as 1835, when he was in Switzerland; for he writes from Willisau² to Langethal, in April, 1835—"My resolution is quite irrevocable, to devote myself henceforth solely to the fundamental idea of my life (the fostering of the natural desire for activity), to exhaust every effort towards accomplishing its clear development, simple exposition, and complete expression." From the middle of June to 20th Sept., 1836, Berlin was the nest where he brooded over this new fledgling of his mind.³ On 23rd July, 1836, he writes from Berlin thus to Langethal: "The clear and thorough setting-forth and working-out of my fundamental idea, its complete presentation in some visible shape, this alone comes before my mind as upon all grounds a first and original claim upon me; and by quiet withdrawal into my own thoughts, by complete absorption within myself, but also by silent observation of the powerful forces which move and control the life around me, I have gained surprising glimpses, made astonishing progress,

¹ By the German Editor, Herr Poesche.

² Froebel transferred the Wartensee School to Willisau in 1832, and continued to conduct it there till 1835. He left Willisau in the summer of 1835, to found with Langethal the Bern Orphanage at Burgdorf. He had previously been giving courses to teachers at Burgdorf, with Langethal; and at the date of this letter had returned to Willisau to conduct the examinations of the children, before finally taking leave of them, Langethal continuing meanwhile at Burgdorf with the teachers.

³ Froebel's first wife (Madame Henriette Froebel) had become alarmingly ill, and it was imperatively necessary that she should leave Swiss air. Froebel therefore gave over his post at Burgdorf to his nephew Ferdinand and to Langethal, and took his wife to Berlin.

and even, if you like, I will say I have made many conquests. The whole conception grows upon me more and more as a great unity, yet rich in variety ; as something made up of many diverse forms and at the same time making many new ones, as a mighty, and yet as a beautiful tree of life within me." This letter was written from No. 46, Old Schönhauser Street, probably at the house of his wife's aunt. (The first Madame Froebel was a native of Berlin.) This same lady also had, in the immediate neighbourhood of Berlin, at Schönhausen, a little house and garden, "our little hut" as Froebel calls it. It was here that he fought "a real fight for life" to win an answer to the question "where he should cast the anchor," or, to use a better figure, "where he should plant the germ" of his forthcoming new venture, whether in Schönhausen or in Blankenburg, near Keilhau. Barop succeeded in getting him to choose Keilhau, or at least Blankenburg, close by. And we find the inventor of the Kindergarten writing from Keilhau on 1st December, 1836, to Langenthal in Switzerland :—"Since I left Switzerland, I have been at work uninterruptedly, watching over, making clear, developing, shaping, and constructing the fundamental idea of my life—I am often, very often, quite tired out." By the end of February, 1837, we find Froebel living in a building formerly used as a powder-mill at Blankenburg. Still in the grip of old educational prejudices, he is preparing to entrust his work to men teachers, instead of to mothers and women teachers, and still seeks, for a very long time, after a suitable name for his institution. At one time he thinks of christening it "Nursery School for Little Children," or "Self-teaching Institution." At another time he inclines towards a longwinded description :—"Institution for the culture of family life, and for education towards national and individual life, through the culture of the instinct for activity, inquiry and creation inherent in man—that is, in the child—as a member of the family, of the nation, of mankind ; that is to say, an institution for the self-teaching, self-education, and self-culture of men by means of play, of creative original activity, and of voluntary self-instruction ; for Families and National Schools." Finally, there occurs to him in a fortunate moment, as he is

walking over the beautiful Steigerwald between Keilhau and Blankenburg, the pretty and conclusive appellation—"Kindergarten." Upon the discovery of this delightful name the wood-clad slopes of the mountain rang afar with his mighty joyous shout, "EUREKA, I have it—the KINDERGARTEN!" Nature and name of the new Institution were thus at once happily found. How energetically and with what enthusiasm the Master now carries through the foundation of the institution, and strains every nerve to bring it into life, the following letters will serve to show. These eminently precious, thoughtful and tender letters are written to his cousin, the wife of Magister Schmidt, in Gera. The reader will soon judge of their worth for himself, and we need not further enlarge upon their contents or their meaning. It much more concerns us to say a few words about the construction raised upon Froebel's foundation; to answer, that is, the question as to what has been done since Froebel's death towards the completion of his idea, by his scholars and his friends, of both sexes, on the literary and on the practical sides.

On the literary side we get an excellent view of what has been done through a volume by Louis Walter on "Froebelian Literature" (Adler, Dresden). Walter classifies methodically the authors and the books which have more or less contributed towards the success of the Froebelian principle. He enumerates and describes works by sixteen physicians, many of them of the first rank, as Bock, Virchow, P. Niemeyer, Schreber, etc.; by seventeen philosophers, such as Krause,¹ H. von Fichte, T. Ziller, Stoy and Michelet; by eight theologians, amongst whom are G. Werner, Steinacker, Karl Schwartz and Bähring; by eight lawyers; by eleven masters of grammar schools and commercial schools, as Wichard Lange, Prof. E. Pappenheim, Erasmus Schwab, and the Councillor of Education, Dr. R. Schmidt; by seventeen masters of Normal Schools, amongst whom we find Diesterweg, Dittes, Kehr, Schütze, Scholz; by eighty-six masters of National Elementary Schools, such as the Councillors of Education, Bormann, Hoffmann, and Kockel; Dr. Pilz, Keferstein,

¹ As to Krause's interesting correspondence with Froebel see the companion volume, "Froebel's Autobiography" (Sonnenschein).

etc. ; by six principals of Idiot Asylums, Georgens, Schröder, etc. ; by seventy-four teachers of the actual Kindergarten methods in a practical sense, amongst whom are Middendorff, Frankenberg, Marquardt, Benfey, Poesche, Hoffmann, Koehler, Seidel, etc. ; by forty-seven literary men of all sorts and conditions, as for instance, Dr. Kühne, Rossmassler, Müller, Ule, Bruno Meyer, Von Holzendorf, Dr. Emminghaus, etc. ; by eight editors of journals ; and by forty-six ladies, a list comprising the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, Mesdames Henriette Schrader, Ida Seele (Madame Vogeler), Doris Lütken, Guillaume, Bertha Meyer, Lina Morgenstern ; Mesdemoiselles Amalie Marschner, Luise Hertlein, Thekla Naveau, Eleonore Heerwart, Lortzing, Schaefer, Focking, and thirty-two others. Already a library of the Froebelian literature would contain several hundred volumes. In the practical preparation of methods the three close countrymen of Froebel, namely Koehler of Gotha, and Schmidt and Seidel of Weimar, have won the chief honours. And with what diligence, like a swarm of busy bees, the faithful guardians of the Froebelian treasure work ! They form a real army of women, this host of Kindergarten teachers. We can indeed say that Froebel's "grain of mustard seed which he took and sowed in his field, now it is grown, is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree !" (Matt. xiii. 31, 32.)

Hand in hand with the literary side of the Froebelian Education has ever gone its practical working. The simple private Kindergartens of earlier times are now classified into Kindergartens for the higher classes and National Kindergartens ; we have Kindergartens belonging to private individuals, to committees and companies, to parishes, to states ; and there are, moreover, Normal Kindergartens for the practice in teaching of young teachers of both sexes. The least progress made by the Kindergarten movement, so richly developed in all the period *preceding* school life, is that *in* the period of school life itself ; and yet it paves the way to all school teaching, advanced or elementary alike. It is high time that something should be done about this ; at least, certain selected "occupations" should be carried on much later than hitherto. In the department of adjuncts to the school we

find much improvement, however. Here we see open playgrounds for the children, school gardens (Erasmus Schwab), and school work-rooms planned and actually brought into existence, especially in the larger towns. As regards the school work-rooms, particularly with reference to the educational-work-question, I may be permitted to remark, with a view of clearing up many misunderstandings and misrepresentations, that I was the first (at the gathering of the friends of the Kindergarten movement in 1851) to urge that the Froebelian games and occupations should be carried onward, so as to become the means of teaching actual handicrafts. In 1852 an address of mine on this subject was printed by Herder, of Freiburg (Breisgau, Baden), which I had delivered at Christmas, 1851, in Georgens' School at Baden-Baden, under the title, "Handiwork considered as a means of Culture towards the Development and Education of Man." Late in the summer of 1852 I received Professor Biedermann's book, "Karl Friedrich's System of Handiwork" (Leipzig, Avenarius). I became intimately acquainted with Biedermann, who then dwelt in Lindenau, near Leipzig, and in the following autumn I had the pleasure of presenting him to the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülów at his house. The necessary consequences of the Froebelian system when applied to educational handiwork were demonstrated by me in a series of essays on "Practical National Education," published in Diesterweg's review, "Rheinische Blätter" ("Rhine-pages") in 1856-1858, but thought out in book-form from the very first. In the meantime the Dane, Clausen Caas, not without encouragement from me, pushed on a propaganda for educational handiwork in Germany, and many of our leading men, as for example Dr. Woldemar Goetze, in Leipzig, Herr von Schenkendorf, in Goerlitz, etc., see in this system the firm foundations of a beautiful and living industrial efficiency. Thus, on this side also we have to rejoice over our great progress.

After school life we have to chronicle a most remarkable result of the extension of the Froebelian system, in the culture of woman's special vocation. The importance of these circumstances makes it advisable to describe the plan and work of some

one institution of the kind. I choose for this purpose the "Pestalozzi-Froebel-House" at Berlin. Froebel claimed as the practical foundation of his Kindergarten the education of young girls in their special teaching vocation, and also at the same time in their housewifely duties. Therefore he would first train nurses, who would be able, when needed, to lend a hand to the busy housewife in her work of the house, while they would take over from the mother the necessary watchful care, the educational responsibility, for her child. Beyond these he would have the trained Kindergarten teachers, called to exercise their high vocation in Kindergartens or in private families. And, last of all, he planned the culture of young ladies of good position in society for their future educational duties simply as mothers. Ever since the year 1860 the "Froebel-Verein" of this place (Froebel Society of Berlin) has been engaged in a constant endeavour to solve these problems of Froebel's, and has brought to bear upon them the greatest practical fitness, the most incessant perseverance, and the warmest enthusiasm; and with excellent results, as shown, *inter alia*, by the successful manner in which it has secured a true educational basis as the foundation of its seven Kindergartens, its "College for Kindergarten Teachers," and its "Training Institute for Nurses." But there remained, and still remains wanting, the home, the visible hearth (*focus*), round which these vigorous efforts might group themselves, and where they might concentrate themselves; some given place and time where their various powers and the means of their application might be drawn together and co-ordinated. On the other hand, the "National Education and National Kindergarten Society in South-West Friedrichstadt"¹ commenced its fruitful labours by acquiring its own house and garden; and the "Pestalozzi-Froebel-House," the home of this united society, I now propose to set clearly before the reader's eyes, so far as the information which I have collected about it will serve.

¹ A middle class quarter of Berlin.

THE PESTALOZZI-FROEBEL-HOUSE, BERLIN.

IF it is true that emotional sensibility and love of family life are main characteristics of the German people, if it is true that Pestalozzi and Froebel based all their efforts for educational reform upon the Family, then the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House (at 16, Steinmetz Street, Berlin) deserves a detailed description here.

"The National Education and National Kindergarten Society," an association of ladies and gentlemen of good social position, took over, in the year 1873, a simple National Kindergarten, and developed it into an establishment of high importance to the art of teaching, which they have called the "Pestalozzi-Froebel-House."

According to my information, the success of this establishment "has owed much to the keen scrutiny, mingled with the most kindly interest, of H.I.H. the Crown Princess of Prussia.¹ Her Imperial Highness has continually supported the society by word and deed, and several of its contrivances and inventions owe their existence to her initiative, whilst many a child in the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House has found its prettiest Christmas treasures in the generous gifts of the Princess."² Madame Henriette Schrader, also, Froebel's grand-niece, who watches over the extension of his work with the far-seeing constructive eye of genius, has taken an important share in organizing the whole establishment from beginning to end, so that it may be a living embodiment of the spirit of Pestalozzi and Froebel in house and school. The society, aiming at active reform, has set before itself as its object "the education of the people in general, with special reference to the education of girls," and in this province, while maintaining a close connection with the School on the one hand and the Family on the other, it aims at producing something which shall be in itself a well-ordered complete whole. Before all else the society sets itself to give women an

¹ Victoria, Princess Royal of England, eldest child of the Queen, Crown Princess of Prussia in 1887, when this chapter was written, and now (1890) the widowed Empress Frederick, dowager Empress of Germany and mother of the present Emperor William II.

² The lamented Emperor Frederick, whilst Crown Prince, also took great interest in the institution, paid several visits to it, and assisted it in many ways.

education which is based on the principle of unity, and to foster those elements of bodily and mental activity in the children and young girls under its care which shall serve towards the renewing and ennobling of family life.

To support these lofty and noble aims, then, are the resources of the society definitely organized.

I.

The foundation of the living, active spirit of the establishment is the well-organized complete household arrangement of the Lady Principal, Mlle. Hammink-Schepel. Acting on that root-principle of Pestalozzi's, "Not skill, nor books, but *Life* itself is the foundation of all education,"¹ every one-sided theory, every abstract and unfruitful dogma, is cleared away, and a great point is made, with good reason, of the fact that the "atmosphere of the family" and Pestalozzi's "power of the common dwelling-room" are everywhere cherished in this house; for, indeed, "from whence is the genuine fostering care to come, which is so necessary for a child's life, if his home is desolate and empty, or if his mother, from want of time or from ignorance, is not in a position to provide it?" A mother who understands the importance of introducing her child, in the right spirit, to housekeeping duties, and of giving him a share in these things, carefully regulated according to his powers, is preparing beforehand those capacities which will later on form the basis of right practical efficiency in his life as a citizen. The housekeeping of a family brings one into constant interchange with nature, with commerce, and all the many divisions of a citizen's life, and gives an intelligent mother many opportunities to place the child in his earliest youth amid loveable relations with man, with God, and with Nature. How well Froebel understood this is shown in his "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Play" (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*). In accordance with the educational meaning thus attributed to housekeeping and the work of the family, this pleasant and

¹ See "The National Kindergarten in the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House," by Henriette Schrader. Part I. (Berlin: Leonard Simion.)

health-giving duty is provided for in the institution we are describing by a complete and well-furnished kitchen, a bath-room, a courtyard, a garden for amusement (with sand for digging, with pebbles, and pine cones, moss, and shells, and straw, etc.), and one for orderly gardening, and also by a series of rooms and halls suitably furnished and arranged for games, occupations, handiwork, and instruction.

II.

Let us now consider the basis of the whole institution educationally speaking ; that is to say, the children's division.

The establishment contains :—

1. The Kindergarten proper, a National Kindergarten with four classes, for children from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 years old.
2. The Transition Class, only held in the morning and by one teacher, for children about 6 or $6\frac{1}{2}$ years old.
3. The Preparatory School for children from 6 to 7 or $7\frac{1}{2}$ years old, preparing for the two school classes.
4. The school of knitting and handiwork planned out and now in preparation, which will give to boys from six to ten years old, and to girls from school age up to their confirmation, a varied and comprehensive system of education in domestic affairs.

(I.) The purpose of the National Kindergarten is to provide the necessary and natural help which poor mothers require, who have to be about their work all day, and must leave their children to themselves. The occupations pursued in the Kindergarten are the following : free play of a child by itself ; free play of several children by themselves ; associated play under the guidance of a teacher (Froebel's Games) ; gymnastic exercises ; several sorts of handiwork suited to little children ; going for walks ; learning music, both instrumental (on the method of Madame Wiseneder) and vocal ; learning and repetition of poetry ; story-telling ; looking at really good pictures ; aiding in domestic occupations ; gardening ; and the usual systematic ordered occupations of Froebel. Madame Schrader is steadfastly opposed to that conception of the Kindergarten which insists upon mathematically shaped materials

for the Froebelian occupations, the early training of the intellect, and the stern discipline of the schoolroom. The plan of this Kindergarten, therefore, derives its basis, not from the school, but from the healthy moral-religious life of the family; and the guidance given to the little ones is less that of a school teacher than that of a true mother. Madame Schrader says very rightly that the tender age of little children needs above all "organic or self-developing life," and "the warm breath of the atmosphere of the family;" and she therefore principally directs her efforts, availing herself of the natural development of the child's yearning for activity, towards preserving and strengthening the loftier moral feelings in the child. Very characteristic also of her method in the Kindergarten is the planned effort after concentration, so that some one object, the "Object for the Month," shall always be present as a centre of interest for the child. "From the richly-crowded ever-changing life of things and phenomena which the Kindergarten offers, some one object is chosen for a central point each month. To the 'Object for the Month' the manifold activity of the child is by preference directed during this period, and he learns to concentrate his interest upon it, and thereby comes not only to regard things as separate objects with which he busies himself in many various ways, but also to understand them as related to other things and to mankind—all this, of course, within the natural limits which bound the minds of children of this age."¹ And what are the results which Madame Schrader promises us from such a method in Kindergarten education, from such a continuous connection of bodily and mental exercises? "Through kindly care for animals and plants, as also, in a general sense, through acquaintance with Nature, and through the useful application of natural products, the children acquire a loving relationship with Nature, and win points of vantage whence they may, later on, come to understand her by the aids of religion, poetry, and science. Through the manufacture of various articles, such as folded forms in paper, woven mats, or clay models, etc., and

¹ "National Kindergartens," by Madame Schrader. No. 2, "The Object for the Month." (Berlin, 1885. Leonard Simion.)

through the use of these things for the service or the decoration of the institution, are the children familiarised with the first beginnings of handicrafts and of art-work, and thus they win the elements of the knowledge of industrial life and industrial activity. Through perfectly free use of slate and pencil, clay, paper, needle and thread, bricks and laths, etc., the children have opportunities given them to make 'free inventions' of their own, and thus to attack the first steps in art. Through a systematic arrangement of Froebel's occupations, the intellectual capacities of the children are nourished—never by abstract teaching, but always by working out in action—and the child is prepared for school. Through the connection of picture, song, and story, with the experiences of the child, the imagination of the little ones is naturally cherished, and a poetic and bright view of life is encouraged." All the above is drawn from actual practice, a fruit plucked from the fresh tree of life. And if not every tree, nor every Kindergarten, can bear such rich fruit, nevertheless it cannot be denied that the Kindergarten system affords good ground "for the harmonious interchange between the life of the body and that of the mind."

(II.) and (III.) The Transition Class serves as a bridge to the Preparatory School; and herein, by gradual steps, the Institution couples the Froebelian principle of "reproduction," or representation, with the Pestalozzian principle of "intuition." "No fresh stage of development, no new treatment of life and of outward things can be allowed, according to Pestalozzi's and Froebel's dicta, to stand in flagrant contradiction to that which has preceded it. On the contrary, in fact, all changes in modes of education and of instruction, and in their application, must be most gradual; resembling in this the changes in the course of development of the child himself, which never occur by fits and starts. On this account, the first teaching in the Preparatory School, conducted upon Froebel's principles in this institution, stands in no rude contrast to the previous work in the Kindergarten. The child finds a wealth of material in the Kindergarten for the development of his desire for activity whereby he expresses his thought, and the same is the case in the lower classes of the Preparatory School; following Pestalozzi's and Froebel's method.

At this stage not books, but Life, still remains the central point, and the point of departure for instruction.

(IV.) The school for handiwork, only open in the afternoons (Wednesdays and Saturdays excepted), concerns itself, partly with carrying onwards the Froebelian occupations into the practical handicrafts allied to them ; such as making paste-board boxes and baskets, weaving osier-baskets, or cloth mats, etc., and partly with instruction in knitting, patching, and darning. The children only pay fifty pfennige (sixpence English) a month, until they reach the Preparatory School. The motive underlying these handicrafts is set forth by Madame Schrader after this fashion:—

“The children find in our institution, as Pestalozzi requires that they should find, every encouragement to develop their capabilities and powers by use ; not by their selfish use, to their own personal advantage, but by their use in the loving service of others.”

“The longing to help people, and to accomplish little pieces of work proportioned to their feeble powers, is constant in children ; and lies alongside of their need for that free and unrestrained play which is the business of their life.” Therefore opportunities are created for the elder children to satisfy this want in the following way:—They are expected to employ themselves in cleaning, taking care of, arranging, keeping in order, and using the many various things belonging to the housekeeping department of the Kindergarten ; for example, they set out and clear away the materials required for the games and handicrafts ; they help in cleaning the rooms, furniture, and utensils ; they keep all things in order and cleanliness ; they paste together torn wall-papers or pictures and cover books, and they help in the cooking and in the preparations of cooking ; in laying the tables ; in washing up the plates and dishes, etc. The children gain in this manner the simple but most important foundations of their later duties as housekeepers and householders, and at the same time learn to regard these duties as things done in the service of others.”

Next to the School for Handiwork, in economic importance, ranks the kitchen. Dinners are provided for those children whose parents work all day away from home, at a trifling charge of five and ten pfennige (one halfpenny and one penny in English).

Also for a trifle poor children may receive assistance of various kinds in illness, or may have milk, or baths, through the kindness of the kindred "Association for the Promotion of Health in the Household."

III.

Upon the foundations above described rests the upper structure of the Institution, namely :—

A training-school for young girls to prepare them for their future vocation as housekeepers and as mothers.

The primary object in this division is so to arrange the education of these girls, drawn from the ranks of the people, that they shall be better equipped than they formerly were for the fulfilment of those duties which life will shortly lay upon them ; that they shall come more and more clearly to understand how to fulfil their housewifely duties, and their responsibilities as educators of their children ; and that they shall enter upon their new life strong in both body and mind, well prepared for, and finding pleasure in, their work. Further, this Institution offers to girls of the upper classes opportunities on the one hand of acquiring systematic culture towards housekeeping and towards educating their own family, or towards professional Kindergarten work as the vocation of their life, and on the other hand, of preparation for those duties towards the poor which devolve upon the ladies of the upper classes. This department of the Institution is very earnestly promoted, and it is certainly of the highest social importance that young ladies should thus in very early youth be habituated to actual handiwork, and to the accomplishment of duties in the service of their poorer fellow-men, and should become well prepared for those duties by teaching and by real work. The means for attaining these various objects are thus arranged.

1. In the complete training of the young girl for housewifely duties, the most important element is the kitchen, that is to say, the School of Cookery. And as the institution is now about to closely connect the work of the School of Handiwork with that of the School of Cookery, it will become possible to offer a com-

plete school of housewifery even to poor girls of the school-age. Such girls will in future have the opportunity, in this Institution, of doing ordinary school work in the afternoons, as is the case in a Servants' Home, of taking walks together, of working in the garden, etc. ; the main object still remaining that of training both girls drawn from the ranks of the people and young ladies of the upper classes, in the theory and practice of cookery and housewifery, and especially in such a manner that they shall learn most thoroughly what is most required in their own housekeeping, and shall be able to put it into practice in the best way ; in fact, that they shall be accustomed to the real earnest work of the household.

2. The educational vocation of the wife in both the narrow and the broad senses of the term, and the culture of women in the practice and theory of education, are provided for in the many divisions of the Training College department of the Institution. Therein ladies of the upper and wealthier classes find opportunities for delightful and invigorating association with the world of children, for loving and natural intercourse with the poorer classes of the people, for systematic preparation towards the education of their own family, or towards the profession of Kindergarten-teacher, whether as a fully qualified teacher of the higher grade, or as a nursery governess or teacher of the second grade. It is no small curriculum which is to qualify these young ladies for their highly responsible vocation : but it has been planned with a keen regard for including only that which is truly necessary. In the first division—that for Kindergarten teachers—the instruction is classed under the following heads : Theory of Education, including the elements of Hygiene—History of Education and Religion—Theory and practice of Kindergarten teaching—Teaching Methods—Geometry—Singing—Drawing and Colouring—Gymnastics—Natural History—Elements of Political Economy, and the visiting of Charitable Institutions—The Froebelian Occupations—Special preparation for the practice of Kindergarten teaching and School teaching—Instruction in Needlework, and especially with a view to improving the methods of mending linen—Extension of the Froebelian Occupations into allied handi-

crafts, such as weaving of cloth mats, basketwork, etc.—and Household Work. The course of instruction for nursery-governesses, or Kindergarten teachers of the second grade, is naturally simpler. These receive instruction in the Froebelian Occupations and the Theory of Education—in Natural History—German—Story-telling and recitation of Poetry—Singing—Drawing—Gymnastics—Needlework, etc. The students are made to work practically in the various departments of the institution; indeed, the elder ones are able, and are expected, to turn their studies to useful application as assistant teachers, whereby they gain confidence, and accustom themselves to independent action.

In these ways has this great institution arisen from small beginnings. In the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House the efforts of the two great educators have again found a common home, and the lives of the householder, the child, the college student, and the teacher are fused into one energetic whole by the glow of cheerful activity.

Twenty Letters of Froebel to Madame Schmidt, in Gera.

LETTER I.

Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, *5th June*, 1840.

DEAR AND ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

Again I approach you by letter, and although not about any personal matter, yet with the old personal trust; and I hope for your most friendly attention.

The approaching Festival of the 400th anniversary of the invention of printing, which, no doubt, is much discussed in your circle, has suggested to us an idea whereby what is lasting and beneficent in this celebration may be connected with the world of children, with the life of early childhood and its care, and so with the child-loving souls of our women. The celebration of this

festival must excite the most lively interest in the bosoms of all thinking and feeling men.

I take the liberty of sending you the plan¹ describing such a work for German women and girls, hoping for your kind co-operation, that you may make good use of it amongst the circle of your lady acquaintances.

Should this subject enlist your sympathies, as I flatter myself it will, so that you would make interest with the editor of the journal of your town in favour of the work, it would gladden us much if a suitable article were written inviting subscriptions.

The address which appeared in the Rudolstadt weekly journal is enclosed.

I wish, dear cousin, that you had already carried out your intention of visiting us. Then would my little child-world, which feels itself happy under the guidance of the principle shown forth in my plan, be now praying from out the happiness of the child-life for your cordial assistance towards putting my plan into execution.

Give my kindest remembrances to all your dear family, and especially to my honoured cousin, your dear husband; and accept the assurance of my unaltered sentiments of friendship and esteem for yourself.

I am, Your affectionate Cousin,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER II.

Blankenburg, 19th July, 1840.

DEAR AND MUCH-ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

You will have hardly been able to understand why your repeated kind enclosures have up till now not brought you one word of thanks from me in return. The celebration of the Gutenberg festival,² and the foundation of the German Kindergarten took place on 28th June.³ I thought I had better wait till it was over before I sent you particulars as to the subscriptions.

¹ For his plan, see Appendix to the present section of the book.

² The 400th anniversary of the invention of printing.

³ "28th July," by error, in the German text.

Then I was busy with a description of the festival and with my report, and at the same time it seemed necessary to prepare an account of the proposed new German educational work as regards the culture of very young children. This description and the rest I intended, dear cousin, to have sent you along with my letter of thanks. But the printing takes so much more time than I expected that I cannot venture to delay my letter till it is ready.

The number of subscribers has not equalled our expectations. It has not reached the stipulated 100 for the first stage, but only amounts to about 70.¹ Most of the subscriptions come from the neighbourhood; those received through your kindness must be reckoned with the more distant ones, yet there are a few from as far as Westphalia.

Weimar has shown itself sympathetic, the Grand Duchess has subscribed, and also the reigning Duchess of Meiningen.

You will now perhaps begin to think, my kind and sympathising cousin, that this result, so small as yet, makes me doubtful of the success of the whole project, and weakens my resolution to proceed with my undertaking. Nothing of the kind; it has only taught me the whole position of affairs; it has enabled me more clearly to discern at once the obstacles which lie in the path of carrying out the work, and the means and the way to overcome them. Therefore the work shall most surely be carried through; it must be accomplished by appealing to the loftier side of human nature, and I shall not abandon my efforts.

The greatest obstacle of all is the want of public spirit. There is a widespread feeling which may be put into the form of the rather vulgar proverb, "My shirt is nearer my skin than my coat." This may be physically true; it holds in time and space; but yet, after all, it does not hold if the essential meaning of the thing be considered, for in the most handsome and best made shirt I can freeze to death, or at all events can catch my death of cold, whereas a good coat preserves me from both these dangers.

¹ Froebel in his plan desired 100 subscribers of ten thalers each (30s. English) to found the work; then 1,000 more to actually start it. (See his plan, already referred to, which will be found at the end of this section of the book.)

Whereby I do not mean to say that a good shirt is of no use. I mean merely to assert that the effort to acquire a good coat, something which shall cover you all over and protect you, is by no means an absurd or useless endeavour. My parable applies to both the earlier and later stages of family education, as well as to the future institutions for the care of little children which are to become the order of the day. Such institutions, in very truth, can only prosper when they are supported by a genuine educational spirit on the part of the general public and by a common interest in the care and culture of early childhood. I might give you many symbolic illustrations of my meaning. Look, for instance, at isolated trees; how they grow amidst a perpetual struggle for existence and are often on the point of perishing, because the wind blows away the leaves which they strew above their roots to protect them; but on the other hand, the trees which you see united together in a wood preserve each other's protecting and nourishing layer of leaves, and grow aloft in power. Just so, dearest cousin, must we strive to awaken a public spirit, and bring people to a sense of its proper value. But why do I say all this to you, who are already so cordial a sympathiser? For this reason: that you may impart my convictions and the grounds for them to other sympathisers, if you feel yourself impelled to do so.

To-day I can only send you and the two other ladies of your town who are in sympathy with our cause, this fragment from the festival.

My kind remembrances to your much-esteemed husband and your dear family.

Dearly beloved cousin, let us cherish the union of heart and soul which has so long existed between us, in order that we may use it to the blessing of mankind. It is because of this great object that your faithful friendship in heart and life is so inexpressibly dear to me. Be assured of this from

Your sincerely attached Cousin,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER III.

Blankenburg, 5th Sept., 1840.

BELOVED DEAREST COUSIN,—

You must have been certain how happy you would make me through the assurance of your warm sympathy in my life-work, and I too rejoice in your certainty that this would cheer me. It is a precious boon for our life when one soul can comprehend another soul in relation to the highest and best possessions life has to offer. I feel myself fortunate, that with respect to the principles, the starting point, or the end in view, in what I have done towards the care and education of little children too young to do anything else than play, you understand me thoroughly; without its being necessary for me to address a word of explanation to you. You perceive and quite correctly express my design of cherishing and awakening a germ in the soul of man, in his intelligence and his life, beginning with the earliest childhood, which shall develop into a tree of life of unfading freshness, with blossoms ever renewed, and bearing ever more perfect and riper fruit, in peace and joy. And not alone in this world but into the next shall grow this tree of life, giving pleasure to God and to noble and true-hearted men, and filling with joy Him who so loved little children.¹

Then shall the earth, moreover, be acknowledged for what it really is, one of the many mansions in the house of God our Father²; yea, as a part of His heaven itself, and as such shall it be held in honour. Not, however, after any arbitrary, self-evolved, or excogitated interpretation, but after the manner that God Himself teaches us and permits us to be taught in so many diverse ways. But men, who love phrases better than facts and deeds, refuse to understand me when I depose the empty phrase from its place of honour, and set in its room the fact and the deed; and those, moreover, clear, pure, vivid and simple, such as they have come to us from God's own hand.

¹ "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xix. 14).

² "In my Father's house are many mansions" (John xiv. 12).

And what could be more grateful to me than your ready comprehension of the motives which guide my action in this matter ; for my most earnest efforts are wholly spent in the endeavour to hear the voice of One who leads us into all Truth, and never in self-regard, selfishness, or wilfulness. You know the method and the means of action which I should most gladly follow. My heart and mind delight to live and work in simplicity alone, in stillness and modesty, withdrawn somewhat from the world, but always in clearness and orderliness and harmony of thought, and so as to yield fulness to life ; my objects being the Good, the Virtuous, the True, and whatever gives peace and joy.

{ By an extraordinary fatality, by a special concatenation of circumstances, I have always been, from my earliest youth onwards, urged forward and driven into activity against the claims and desires of my own soul. I know, dear cousin, for I have often experienced it, that the Good, the Virtuous, the True, and the Sincere arise only from amongst the smallest, stillest, and most hidden places of life. Whatever I may have succeeded in accomplishing during my life which has any real value, however slight, has originated in this seemingly casual manner.

To-day I would gladly return, if surrounding conditions only allowed me, to the smallest beginnings of things ; but the artist life, the life of construction, through which we all must pass—and I also with my Kindergarten, if it ever is to really exist ; such a life, I say, broadens and enlarges itself before one knows whither it is tending. So grew up the plan of a German Kindergarten in my mind, arriving quite unexpectedly to myself at the dimensions and wide contents which its contour at present embraces. I am beginning again to-day with the idea of the Kindergarten, developing it from its smallest germ ; a task in which many things here combine to help me, if only I could attain the one necessary condition, namely, a true womanly heart, educationally capable, combined with an intelligence full of motherly experience, and willing to be devoted to the culture and watchful care of the little ones, and to the training of the elder daughters and young women.

The whole sex, whose powers are now to bud forth, can be

educated and trained towards the goal of all mankind, although we have to begin at the very earliest beginning, for the history of man has often shown this ; but three conditions are imperatively necessary, working together as one undivided unity :—

(1) Woman's heart and woman's life, (2) in intimate union with genuine loving care of children ; and both the care of children and the woman's heart grounded upon (3) a true sense of communion with God.

But this sense of the divine is not to arise from thought, or from feeling, or from unconscious habit ; it is to be a deep-felt penetrating action of all three, working together as a single mental whole.

And what reward can I offer to a womanly soul thus consecrating herself to this sphere of work in self-sacrificing love for children ? Not enough to content her, if I may judge by what I have heard as likely to be demanded : yet this is not the main difficulty ; the first thing is to find such a womanly soul.

In my own circle of acquaintance all the women-folk are engaged with their chosen vocations or their home duties.

Your recommendation, my dear cousin, to develop the Kindergarten on a small, on the smallest, scale is quite after my heart ; and further, its development on a large scale, as a great institution, does not attract me in the least, for I know that a large undertaking would not only bring with it much fatigue and trouble for me, but also, what is of more consequence, it often times carries with it much that is empty and lifeless : I, on the contrary, desire that my idea, in all its purity and divine fervour, may, even as the tiniest of germs, strike firm root ; but where am I to find the needed womanly help ? It seems quite otherwise to me if the plan is brought out on a large scale, for we could then offer a solid position to a whole family, if it were a suitable one—I mean a family so penetrated with the spirit of the entire movement as to look on me as its spiritual father and true friend. You see now, my kind sympathetic cousin and friend, after what fashion I have been picturing to myself the possible starting of the whole, in what I might call a patriarchal guise.

But I await your further advice with cordial readiness, and with

equal readiness I lay my whole life and work before you for your examination.

For my work has one aspect which is without doubt quite strange to you ; I mean its industrial and mercantile aspect. I regard it as the most suitable thing for the welfare of the whole plan that I myself should bring out the gifts and material for the occupations, with all that belongs to them, and publish the necessary letter-press and lithography. I find this the surest means for securing the unity of the whole, its self-dependence and interdependence. But here again, I am no man of business, nor is any one of my friends ; and he who could have undertaken this for me, my nephew, has been snatched away from me years since, by death.

I have for some time, as regards this branch of my work, sought after a young man who would associate himself with me and take all these business and mercantile affairs off my hands ; but such a position would demand requirements not very easily fulfilled. The young man must not only be a man of business, with the necessary knowledge and experience, but must also have a due sense of the power of education and of the brotherhood of mankind ; that is, he must appreciate the spirit and the endeavour of the whole movement, and take pleasure in his work for the sake of the cause. I am fully persuaded that the whole affair could be made an excellent business speculation, one such as rarely occurs, indeed, because our knowledge of the spirit of the movement would keep it as a monopoly wholly in our hands. But it is not so easy to convey one's own strong persuasion into another's mind ; and to suppose that he would be able to study alone, and so convince himself, implies a stage of culture for my supposed young man of business which is not readily to be met with.

But if it be possible to find such a one, then the whole movement in its business aspect lies clear before me. Had you only a son, my dear cousin, already arrived at man's estate and already destined to commercial pursuits, I would enter into complete details with you.

I am impelled by your friendly sympathy to turn back again to

the undertaking of the German Kindergarten, and to beg for your kind co-operation.

A few persons in Leipzig have given a cordial reception to my endeavours, and have expressed themselves favourably about them. Dr. Vogel, the director of the city schools ; Prof. Lindner ; Dr. Lechner, the head-master ; Otto Wigand, the bookseller, and several others beside. But on the whole no active support has come from Leipzig, and only three subscribers date from that city.

Dr. Lechner published a very powerful appeal for subscriptions in the Leipzig *Daily Journal*. I take the liberty of sending you a copy of this. By all that I hear of Leipzig, it only needs now that the matter should be vigorously taken up at several points. Perhaps, moved by Dr. Lechner's appeal, some kind lady of Leipzig will let me know that, induced by the aforesaid appeal and the spirit and aim of the undertaking, she feels compelled to offer to collect subscriptions, and begs to be supplied with plans and subscription forms. I send you, too, twenty-five plans, etc., for you kindly to distribute as you think best. As you, dear cousin, are willing to further the work, I am sure of success in advance. The work of a woman's heart and a woman's hand is already a great thing to have, but still more valuable is the intelligent comprehension which each of your letters so excellently expresses. Enclosed, I send you a letter which I have just received, and which contains the opinions of several leading educationists, and amongst them that of the venerable Professor Zerenner, of Magdeburg, about this subject. To be precise, I have not heard of actual opposition on any side ; but on the contrary, of much cordial approval ; only people have not the courage or the faith to set to work directly to assist me in starting the enterprise. If only a few ladies would but follow your example, the undertaking would soon spring into existence in all the force of youth ; and as it is, I can heartily rejoice in your enthusiastic co-operation, and am deeply thankful to you for it. Let us only continue united, as at present, in mind and deed for the furtherance of the cause, even in its very smallest details. Yea, though it were but two hearts, fervently united in the pursuit

of some pure aim for the good of humanity, they can accomplish work of almost inconceivable value, as the history of mankind has shown; and we have more than two, for beyond yourself and ourselves we have your dear husband, my honoured cousin, helping us, and standing by our side. To him also I am heartily thankful for his co-operation. So soon as the description of the festival is published I will send you a few facts, so that you can insert a second notice in your local journal, giving further account of the progress of our undertaking.

But what will you say, my dear cousin, as to my venturing to steal so much of your time, and expecting you to read through so long and so badly written a letter? Only the certainty of finding the true friend in the affectionate relative emboldens me to impose thus upon you.

May Providence guide this union of heart and purpose to a beautiful blossoming and a ripe fruitage, to such blossoms and fruit on the tree of humanity as will yield joy and health and peace to many souls. We two both bear the name of Friedrich¹ (*Frieden-reich*, rich in peace); may many souls, though they are but children, receive from us at least the germ of the true Peace of Life which leads onward to the true joy of soul.

As we here are quite in agreement with your views as to the good of travel for young persons, our teachers have undertaken several journeys with their pupils.

You know, of course, that Middendorf and Barop, the first being the uncle of the second, are both sons-in-law of my only surviving brother,² who now lives at Keilhau. From all in Keilhau and all here I am to send you and your dear ones the most friendly greetings.

I have enclosed a number of my weekly journal with the plans; perhaps you will find a notice therein which may please you.

With warm esteem and friendship,

I am your affectionate Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

¹ Presumably, Madame Schmidt's Christian name was Frederica.

² Christian Ludwig Froebel.

LETTER IV.

Blankenburg, 9th Dec., 1840.

DEAR AND MUCH-ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

The warm sympathy of yourself and of my honoured cousin, your husband, with my efforts regarding childhood, moves me deeply ; and it is doubly prized by me, for the sake of the cause, because your own dear sons have already passed through the years of early childhood, and your attention is naturally directed on their account to the more special and individual needs of adult life. You and your husband are deeply persuaded of the necessity to cherish and develop the sense of kinship with man in every child, and the sense of kinship with God in every man. The appreciation of the importance of such things can never come too soon, nor can it ever be too late to acquire it, neither should we ever let it be overwhelmed by the cares arising from our special vocations in life. How glad I am, how happy, to be able to tell you that already ten, and again ten, nay, that a hundred and more than a hundred share in your feelings, thoughts and convictions upon this subject, at all events in their essence, even if not in such strength or to such intensity as is the case with yourself. You are actually, dear cousin (and I tell you this with deep feeling, as my dear kinswoman, of the spirit as well as of the body), the first German mother to attack the question of childhood so warmly and thoroughly, so powerfully and energetically.

Oh, how long have I wished to find just such a mother ! For I knew if I could find her, that her life would shed powerful influence on all around her, an influence as still and as invisible as that of the magnet. And so has it happened, dearest cousins, wife and husband both. Since I wrote to you, another of the seeds which we scattered over Germany, in the effort towards a satisfactory education for children, has germinated, has struck root ; and from its kernel and seed-leaves, a flourishing Kindergarten has developed. This too, by what is a stroke of good fortune for me, and a thing of deep significance, has happened quite close by, in fact, in the capital of my own little country, in

Rudolstadt : and—also a matter of significance in my eyes—without my personal initiative, except that I played with the children here in Blankenburg.

The parents first came over by themselves, then they brought their children with them, and joined in our games, and the inner life of both parents and children was filled with content. Then the thing budded and grew for months long—why, from the first visit till now, it is even more than a year—for “a good thing takes its own time.” The test was a valuable one for me, since I knew that the cause would issue victorious from the fiery trial ; and moreover, Providence has taught me for thirty and odd years how to wait, and how meanwhile quietly to care for the “day of small things.”

At the end of last month I was invited by some mothers to establish my method of educational games and occupations at Rudolstadt ; and on the first Tuesday of the present month, from two to four in the afternoon, the

RUDOLSTADT KINDERGARTEN

was opened, with twenty-four charming children, varying from two to five years old, accompanied by their mothers, by some of their fathers, and by a few other relatives. It is a true Garden of Children ; they are as joyous, as lively, as fresh, as vigorous as the flowers in a garden—and at the same time as loveable and gentle as mignonette or violets.

A few of the mothers had arranged everything by means of a circular. Every Tuesday and Friday afternoon we have games and occupations from two to four.

The Princess Dowager has found us a room. The necessary furniture was provided by those who could afford it ; the cost of fuel is borne by the Association of Mothers. Last Tuesday was our third meeting. Parents and children seemed not merely contented, but happy ; every one was saying, “The children have become dearer than ever to their parents, now that they have seen them engaged so pleasantly and brightly in such well-ordered busy activity.” Some of the fathers were again present, although the matter is for the most part taken up by the mothers only. That the interest which has been exhibited strengthens

my position, you can easily see ; but it must be kept up by the utmost exertion on my part also, or rather I should say, on *our* part. Up to twelve o'clock I am engaged in giving lessons here ; and punctually at one o'clock I have to start for Rudolstadt. The cost of the journey is of course at the charge of the Association of Mothers. Shortly before two I arrive at the room, and soon there come the children in their mothers' hand, or with their nurses.

My friend and true colleague, Middendorff, accompanies me, as well as a young man whom the princess has sent to study with me. The playtime is devoted, half to building, half to games. By about six o'clock we reach Blankenburg again.

The most cheering thing about it all is that noble ladies and ordinary citizens' wives meet together pleasantly engaged in a common interest, and working hand in hand for a common end. Thus does childhood unite us all, sharply separated though we be in general by rigid conventions ; and its effect will soon be made manifest in some beneficent, hallowing way, reacting upon our forms of society.

Presently I shall have something to say, dear cousin, about the way in which the care for the life of childhood will have an awakening and stimulating effect even upon Rudolstadt.

Why have I written all this to you, my dearest cousin, before I begin my reply to your kind letter ? Because I think that it is cheering to realise the fact that what we are devoting our utmost watchfulness and care to, is receiving the like attention from other cultivated and noble-hearted men, and this cheering fact I was glad to convey to you, and also to those who have taken such an active part with you in furthering the cause of childhood, and thereby that of mankind, and yet further, that of Christianity itself. I used the word "Christianity" of set purpose, for I will just briefly and simply place before you, without any attempt at word-painting, what I am unchangeably and most deeply convinced of, as regards this matter. * I mean that we shall be borne onward into the very heart of practical Christianity through these games and occupations of little children, which we are contriving with such attention, loving care, inward watchfulness, and

outward work. In the first place, we thus avoid all those sad consequences which arise from the neglect of children in their earliest years. For the great friend of children has said: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea" (Matt. xviii. 6). And how many, many children, often very tiny ones, are there not who are "offended" in Jesus' sense of the word, by the weariness which comes of doing nothing, or by being forced into unsuitable occupations? In the second place, also, we are fulfilling one of the weightiest commands of Jesus, which he puts into the words, "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein" (Luke xviii. 17). Now the Kingdom of God is the kingdom of unity, of union, of unification, of unison, of concord, of love, of peace, of law, of introspection, of perception of the inner essence which underlies outer manifestations. It is the kingdom of social union, of trustfulness, of belief, of hope; it is that province of the observation of the small which concerns it as member and part of the large, of the near as germ of the far, etc., etc. And all this, dear cousins both, will be, by means of these games and occupations, early awakened, nourished, cared for and developed in the child. Herein lies the secret of the success which results from the operation of this system of organised occupations, a success often apparently inexplicable, and by many spoken of as its "magical effect"; herein lies that hallowing influence which extends its attitude of belief and trust (that is, the childlike, motherly, brotherly attitude) over the whole life of the child, and which from this beginning spreads ever widening throughout the whole family. For God's will is to give help to all mankind, and that every one should attain to the knowledge of truth, through the means which He has made manifest in the inner being of the universe and of living creatures. These means are displayed in the phenomena of all creation, and before all else in the soul, in the mind and in the hand, as well of each man in his individual capacity, as of the vast collective unity of mankind, held together by God. ✕

Since man only comes to the power of self-examination and self-knowledge, in any relation whatever, with the greatest difficulty; and since he must first learn to see and to study himself in the mirror of Heaven (eternity) and that of Nature and of all creation (change and transience), that he may acquire that knowledge; therefore God, as a loving Father, has surrounded man with the chief means and conditions required by him, placing them in what lies near him, in the smallest things, in the very heart of his own life, and exhibiting them in their purest, fullest concord amidst the earliest experiences of childhood, no less than in the great spheres of the world and of human life; so that through these means and conditions man may live and journey onward as a child of God in heaven, even while yet upon the earth—at unity with himself, at unity with the Cosmos of life (Nature, the visible creation) and at unity with God, in joy and in peace. God is omnipresent, and consequently He is present upon the earth; God also speaks to us inwardly, works in us inwardly; but where God lives, works and speaks, *i.e.*, manifests Himself, declares Himself, there does He dwell, in the human sense of the word: and the place where He dwells we call heaven. In very fact, it thus appears, that while yet on earth we may walk in heaven. Christianity opens our eyes to this truth: for, to take one instance out of many, Jesus says, “I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, He will guide you into all truth” (John xvi. 12, 13). These things we shall hear, for the Spirit, the Spirit of all things, shall tell us them, even the Spirit of God, if we will but cling to the path which He points out for us, the path which leads us to the beginnings of life, back to childhood. We must render perceptible to the child the unity of the world, absolute existence, the world within; and these in an earthly, human, childlike, intelligible fashion. Unity must be perceived in variety, absolute existence in phenomena, harmony in melody, the soul in the body—in a word, all things in all things—and this through many-sided harmoniously active life and work. Such things we have to give to children through the system of ordered games and occupations which I have created.

I have endeavoured to show you, in the above, dear cousin, how by these methods of games and occupations we should be carried right into the heart, the very life-centre of active Christianity ; and I have pursued the theme firstly in the interest of our children, that is, the childhood of the whole Christian world ; but secondly, also, in the interest of all children whatever, of the childhood of the entire race of man, for that is at stake in this matter.

The manner in which we are educated, and in general treated, in our earliest childhood has, as we all know, a remarkable influence upon our emotions, our thoughts, our actions, during the whole of our life. But will not, then, he who from earliest childhood is educated and trained in the principles of unity, unison, union and love ; of the inward world, the spiritual and the permanent ; of joy and peace ; of the habit of elimination of the transient from out all phenomena, of the perception of the many-sidedness of all things, etc., etc.—and all these things do but compose the spirit of practical Christianity—will not such a one, I say, later in life, gladly recognise this spirit, and be helpful and energetic in the same ?

And in this way I foresee the time—it lies spread out clear and fully defined before my eyes like some lovely spring landscape—when through such attentive study of the life of childhood, and especially through the fostering care for the creative activity of children (whereby they give outward shape to their inward thoughts, and realise inwardly what they perceive outwardly), the whole race of man shall be convinced of the truths of Christianity.

From the first thoughts upon life of my earliest boyhood, onward to now, this has been the main subject of attention, perception, consideration and endeavour, with me.

This is the outcome, the goal, of all my efforts in the cause of education, for now more than thirty-five years ; it was the declared groundwork of my educational establishment, which will soon be five-and-twenty years old ; but now only does it first come to pass, that I am beginning to be understood elsewhere than just in my own house. The first unsought-for, genuine, free, self-originated comprehension of my life-aims has come from you, my

beloved cousin,—doubly dear to me on this account. Why do I tell you all this? For the very reason, in the first place, that you can appreciate it and understand it. What good would it do for me to express my thoughts elsewhere, where I should only appear to utter strange unintelligible speech? Secondly, I address myself to you, as I wish you to know my thoughts, and to make myself certain that you have understood them. Finally and chiefly, though, in the third place, because the question whether my work and my efforts have a Christian meaning and a Christian aim (though very few men really know what they mean when they put this question) is the corner-stone, ever present, silent or expressed, of all discussions as to the worth or the worthlessness of my educational endeavours. You can now answer with precision any such questions which may be put to you. Too many people will be ready to get rid of the thing, by any means, to thrust it aside, to avoid the trouble of making themselves acquainted with its meaning by some personal examination of their own.

Now, after this long communication, which has forced itself into utterance, I scarce know how, from the depths of my heart, let me set to work to answer your dear letters; and I will take the last part first.

In that letter, dear cousin, you did indeed send me a festival gift, as well as an evidence of the progress of our cause; for although the Kindergarten in its inmost nature, and in an especial sense, is purely a department of woman's life and work, yet in the present position of our society, when woman's work is so rigidly defined by man's will, even to the fettering of some of its noblest impulses, and when at the very least women are debarred from much that is rightly their own, it is in the highest degree important that you should have gained so favourable an opinion of our enterprise from men of standing in your locality.

On these accounts I rejoiced greatly when I read your news of the willing adherence of these highly esteemed gentlemen, my dear cousin, his colleague Müller, and (in your last letter) Pastor Lang. Supported by the valuable co-operation of three such men, and invigorated by a right true womanly and motherly enthusiasm, all obstacles must disappear before you; as you say yourself,

very properly, in your latest letter, and after your first conversations with pastor Lang. But before I go on let me call to remembrance, as fortifying us in our outlook into the future, the principle we learn from nature and from life, both intuitively and by experience :—namely, that wherever healthy life buds forth, there new life only unfolds itself to meet and overcome various obstacles ; nay, further, that these obstacles in a certain sense are actually necessary for strengthening and fortifying this young life. Let us look closely at the buds of our trees, and see how thick and close are the coverings which lock them up, and how slowly and against what resistance these coverings are burst open, before the tender little leaves appear ; or let us look at the kernel, or the seed-corn, which a still stronger chain holds fettered, till the feeble germinating point can shake itself free ; or, finally, let us look at the helpless infant and its birth.

Obstacles are not appointed by Providence with the design of repelling newly uprising life, but with the purpose of strengthening it at once, upon its first appearance, and of making evident the meaning of that appearance. I am glad to think that a like ordeal awaited you also ; for in the face of the obstacles which sprang up to confront you, the young life of your undertaking strengthened itself, and by the way in which you trustfully set forward against all opposition, this young life acquired respect and an acknowledged position. If I might ask so much of you, I would beg you to give my best thanks to these three gentlemen for their aid in the cause of children's education, although they will later on receive thanks in a far more beautiful shape, namely, by the success of the whole enterprise, as indeed Pastor Lang has well observed.

It was a happy thought of Herr Müller to urge you to begin at once. For through the actual presentation of the method, all imperfect though it was, yet moved entirely by a spirit of love for the little ones, parents and children had the opportunity of seeing for themselves in earnest that here they had presented to them for their acceptance something which corresponded to the inmost and the noblest needs and desires alike of parents and of children.

The great pleasure I have received from the susceptible nature of your friend, Pastor Lang, so easily running over into friendly acts, you have quite correctly anticipated. Assure that worthy man yet again of my high esteem and gratitude. May his present attitude and his present conduct only remain constant! Such is always my first thought on similar occasions, in the light of my very large experience: for no one can show more knowledge of the mutability of men's attitudes than I can. Whenever men do not at once find a thing to be precisely as they saw it and wished it to be, they are quite likely to let that thing go altogether, although, just previously, they have been enthusiastic and even glowing in the expression of their sentiments about it. Wherefore I cherish above all things the sympathy which comes to me freely from any man, without any solicitation whatever of mine; as, for instance, the welcome sympathy of your friend, Pastor Lang, etc.

Here I will take occasion to make a twofold observation—and in the first place I remark that the games in a circle hardly ever make the children tired. The reasons of this fact lie very deep, to my thinking.

This kind of play is the symbol of a triple life. First, it is the symbol of the individual life of the man and of the child; for all our actions tend, like those of the children in their games, to some one invisible fundamental conception, hope, or longing of the soul.

Next, it is a symbol of the life of Nature, where, as is the case with the planets, all revolves about a midmost unity, a definite sun and centre.

And thirdly, it is a symbol of the collective life of mankind in general, whose ultimate point of relation and of union also rests on the invisible midmost unity of all Life, upon God Himself. Believe me, dear cousin, I hold it certain that a child yearns for such symbolised relations of life; and if they are cherished, and if, as opportunity offers, they are awakened, and raised up so to become an inward and spiritual intuition, the child will be strengthened for that demand, later to be made upon him, that he shall hold fast to the invisible unity in life amidst the ceaseless changing play of phenomena.

My second remark is that it is of no consequence that precisely these songs and these tunes shall be sung which have been suggested by myself. They have been merely put forward by way of example, so as to show in a general way the spirit as well as the form and complexion of the whole scheme; others may perhaps find much prettier and more suitable songs, although I have of course taken pains to select the best in form and feeling, as well as having the clearest words and the prettiest tunes, I have been able to find.

And since those songs which arise or which come to the mind on the impulse of the moment, and amidst special circumstances, are always the best, I beg of you when such songs and games occur to you, at once to note them down in writing, that they may not be lost. Then, if you will send them to me from time to time, I will interweave them with the rest, to the great joy of the world of children and to the perfecting of the whole collection; whereby they will, as members of a larger whole, as flowers in a wreath, shine out with added beauty. All the friends of childhood, both gentlemen and ladies, are kindly acceding to my request in this matter; and the next *Sunday Journal* will allow you to see for yourself what rich results this system has already produced.

I am very much obliged to you for your neat arrangement of such published notices as have reached you about my system of Children's Occupations. But is not the *School News* of Darmstadt read in Gera? There is a article in No. 64 well worth reading, and there are also others. And in Madame Louise Marezoll's *Women's Newspaper*, which is now being continued under the title of *Women's Mirror*—is another excellent article. Did I not send you these journals? I am sorry if I did not—yet it is perhaps all the better, for the project has struck root in your circle by its own unaided strength. In Vol. III. of the *Women's Mirror* for this year occur some straightforward telling remarks by the editress, Louise Marezoll, serving as an introduction to my "Plan for a German Kindergarten."

The starting of your play-classes for little girls from six to eight years old has my full approval. Such children give only a quarter

of the trouble, at the most, which smaller children give, especially little boys; and besides this you will get a quicker result, and particularly a more attractive and more easily understood example to show to those who see things chiefly by their outward appearances, and are not apt to perceive their inner life and meaning.

You have given me much pleasure by what you tell me of this winter's prospects, and of the outlook for the coming spring, in regard to our enterprise, which has begun so bravely with you; I shall try and help to forward and to invigorate it, so far as my humble powers will serve. I hope Pastor Lang will remember his promise when spring begins, and will throw open his garden for the children's games, so that your institution may become a "Kindergarten" in the accurate meaning of the word. It will be the second "garden of children" in all Germany, the first being the one we have here. For I desire that in future all institutions in Germany for the education and care of little children, all that are based on games and occupations, all that correspond worthily to the child's nature and the man's being, may be called by this name of "Kindergarten." May they bear this name as a sign full of life and charm, which shall indicate their spirit, their endeavour, their special character as serving all mankind; and we, here, have therefore already named our institution the "Rudolstadt Kindergarten."

As for the elder girls taking part in the games and occupations, by all means induce them to do so, if by any possibility you can contrive this: and I advise it upon four grounds. Firstly, you will in this way get as many and as inexpensive assistants as possible for the institution; secondly, you will give an opportunity for young women to learn our methods, and so to become of assistance to mothers and families. Thirdly, you will enable them, as future mothers, to educate themselves, and to learn how to play with their children, even the tiniest, in ways which are of deep significance, though at the same time perfectly simple. Motherly and womanly instinct does much to effect this of its own accord, I grant; but it does not accomplish all that should be done, by a great deal: it often makes mistakes, and, on all accounts, a system based on principles, intelligently and

judiciously interpreted, is much to be preferred. I have opportunities at present, my dear cousin, of seeing many mothers and Kindergarten teachers, and those of the well-to-do and even of the educated classes minding children of one and two years old ; but how much they leave to be desired, if we are to talk of a really suitable and intelligent treatment of children ! Fourthly and finally, amongst such a number you will assuredly find some few who have real sympathy with children, and who are not needed at home, or who are compelled to earn their own living ; these, therefore, you may specially train as nursery governesses, such as are so often inquired for in families.

As regards gymnastic exercises for girls, the Gera parents are perfectly right in wishing for them. I have made experiments on the subject in one of my educational institutions in Switzerland. The gain from such exercises is manifold. If the idea should really begin to take practical form, I will send you a good book called "Free Exercises," by Spiess, an exceptionally good gymnastic teacher we had there. I sent my niece to Spiess to have lessons in gymnastics while she was staying in Burgdorf. But you will see, as the series of games progresses, especially in the action-games derived from ball games, etc., how all the main exercises of gymnastics are embodied in them. If your decision in favour of gymnastic exercises comes into practical operation, I will send you a clean copy of that part of the method, not yet printed, so that you can get a clear idea of the connection of the whole set of action-games, up till now only given in detached numbers in the *Sunday Journal*.

It seems to me a good idea of Pastor Lang's to bring in several more subscribers by means of a circular. I would only suggest that you should first collect together several mothers by personal invitation ; for these will immediately form a kernel round which the others will group themselves, drawn into sympathy with the undertaking as if by a magnet. Personal conferences do a great deal. In Rudolstadt the whole thing began with two mothers, each of whom addressed herself to others on all sides, and each of the converts whom they made also endeavoured to make others in her turn ; finally, the whole was

brought into definite form by the issue of a circular and the receipt of subscriptions.

Begin then, dear cousin, with good courage. You are afraid, you say, of two things; and, firstly, that you are not competent in the method.

From my station afar off, I can see, on the contrary, that you are so competent. It would, of course, have been better had you accepted Madame M.'s invitation and accompanied her here; but of what use is it to regret this now? Frequent occurrences in my own life have convinced me that we ought to listen very intently to the lightest call from within, for we oftentimes afterwards discover that more importance lay therein than we had thought at the time, as regards the designs of Providence and for the general good.

Madame R. did not understand me, and her character is weak and unsettled; otherwise she would have profited by the pains I took to get her here in order that she might acquaint herself, even if but slightly, with the method. Ladies of her rank owe it to themselves as a duty to devote part of their work in life to children. She seemed to feel this herself, and in fact she distinctly said as much, but she had not courage, nor endurance, nor persistence of will enough to carry it through. What a good thing it would be if she were able to find time to give you a general sketch, with details, of the whole method which we are pursuing here.

Now, do not lose heart! Strive above all things to possess yourself of the spirit of the whole, and then throw yourself willingly into the work and into the real claims which the children's lives are making upon us. Observe, this is the method I also follow in educating myself for the execution of my plans. The general idea of the whole method is my loving guide, and I follow it as the truest, kindest friend of my life and my soul; my teachers are the children themselves, with all their purity, their innocence, their unconsciousness, and their irresistible claims, and I follow them like a faithful, trustful scholar. If anything proves successful, I at once lay upon myself the obligation to make it so thoroughly my own as to be able to trace it out

from the idea or root principle by necessary consequence and development.

Should your venture succeed, pray count on me with absolute certainty for anything I can do to help you; you need only express your wishes quite clearly. The *Sunday Journals*, as they continue, will offer you many a friendly hint. Let a start be made, if in ever so small a way, and we will see that it does not fail.

But, say you, you are also afraid of a second thing: that the time devoted to the play-classes will encroach too much upon the duties which you owe to your own family. I am heartily glad to be able fully to reassure you on this point by examples drawn from actual experience.

My friend and colleague Middendorff, as a man and a father, finds himself in precisely the same position as you occupy as a woman and a mother. He is faithfully working away here at building up our institution, and our common anxiety is that the manifold results of his work for us all shall also yield gifts and fruit for him individually, as a father, as a citizen, and as a member of a family.

Whatever is truly for the well-being and the furtherance of all of us, must at the same time be truly for the well-being and the furtherance of each one of us, still more for the good of our families. Clearly to prove this dogma, in its absolute truth, from the phenomena and necessities of life, is the greatest task of my life, and in fact this work is intimately connected with the production of my Kindergarten method, so that the one springs out of the other. But this is so far-reaching a subject that I must not enter upon it further to-day; I should like to talk with you more about it.

At present I will only give you the assurance that all your doubts and fears will eventually disappear, to your perfect satisfaction. The point lies in this: we should strive to convert all the results of the work which we do for the good of mankind, be they what they may—learning, experience, culture, material prosperity, etc.—to our own individual use also, as if they were some precious gift made to ourselves. Then the worth and work

of women, wives, mothers, and teachers will appear in a much clearer and purer light than before, since it is evident, from this single undertaking, that you may bring a considerable money gain to your family, which will richly reward you for all the time spent upon the experiment.

If the inhabitants and mothers of Gera are forward enough for it, the method will soon flourish. When once they see an actual start made, children and parents will never let it sink. But if children and parents are not forward enough for it, then no amount of sacrifice will serve to make a good start. I have examples of both kinds: Rudolstadt serves for the first, while, as for the second, the start at Dresden has already cost us hundreds of thalers, and is still but a lame affair. Why? Because there is a lack of united public feeling there, in favour of it; while, at the same time, the various cliques of the town and the school-masters are all working against it.

At the end of your kind letter you say that you have still much more to tell me about the games, but that you refrain, from fear of robbing me of too much time, because of the length of your letter. No, dear cousin, do not think so! I have chosen it as my vocation to spend my life and work upon these things, and every such communication is a treasure for me, to be used for the wider dissemination of the method, as indeed you will see in your own case in the next *Sunday Journal*. Your own precious leisure would be too much infringed upon, or else I would beg of you to collect as many observations for me as you can, both things which you yourself have observed, and also remarks made by your Robert and the other children when at play. If you have the time for this, pray do it, for the furtherance of the cause; other friends are at work for me in the same way. How much I have enjoyed your detailed remarks in your previous letter you will readily perceive when you see the use I have made of them in the *Sunday Journal*. I beg of you earnestly to let me have your candid opinion on the observations I have made upon them in that article; and especially whether you consider my interspersed comments of use to mothers and to persons having the charge of children.

(*Saturday, 12th*). Now, I will also briefly reply to your kind letter of the 8th inst. I have already expressed above my great pleasure at the excellent co-operation of the three gentlemen with yourself. From this bond of union, so quietly pledged, there needs must come something solid and firm by way of result. Through their co-operation I can clearly see that a possibility has already arisen of that very thing coming to pass which in your letter you say seems impossible, namely, the establishment of a play-class (a Kindergarten class) at some one or other of the Gera schools.

The blessing of Heaven always rests upon the quiet thoughtful work of women. I cannot express how deeply I regard your quiet active participation in the work, your labours "beneath the surface" as Herr Müller so truly describes them. It will surely be with them as in the spring time, when all things which have previously been silently prepared under the earth's mantle burst forth in fulness and beauty. Be assured, I am by no means against working quietly, and even, it may be, very slowly, towards the end in-view.

It results from what I have said above about myself and my doings that I have learnt to wait and to persevere; and therefore I gladly and with deep thankfulness accept what you so kindly offer me, namely, your help in preparation and in actual work. I rejoice in your firm and enduring resolve to aid me. Already upon this fair tree fruits rich in blessing are showing forth.¹

The main thing is to get people first to look at something; talking about a thing, without showing it, is of no use whatever. You must have found this yourself. The very humblest attempt which you make in such a way that others can take part in it, becomes for this reason of double importance. I hear excellent accounts of the people of the Reuss principality, especially of the towns-folk in that region: there seems to be much healthy intelligence and a brisk active way of life amongst them.

The pleasant picture you have sketched for me of the merry

¹ Here follows an introduction to ball-games and action-games which the German Editor has omitted.

good fellowship of the college playground in your town, especially in the spring and summer terms, attracts me like a magnet ; how much the greater, then, is the influence upon that gay troop of children. Yes, you are quite right, something could well be done with those thirteen younger children, and your dear sons could soon train themselves to be the leaders of the games under the supervision of the mothers of their class-mates.

At our suggestion O. Kraemer, a teacher, started something of this kind in the excellent playground of the great school at Leipzig, but he stood too much alone, and there were other unfavourable circumstances in the affair, so that the enterprise, which began in a spirited way, relaxed and fell to nothing.

But to return to the capital playground of your college. How delightful would it not be, if an organised game could be arranged there under the eyes of the fond mothers of those boys ! Do not be frightened that I shall hold you too strictly to your word. I know too well the power of the social influences ruling our lives. But this very giant force of life, especially its conventional and social claims, and particularly with regard to mothers, makes it necessary that we should watch in the most scrupulous way over anything, the very least thing, which shows itself to be for the good of the children. Now, as regards the affection of mothers for children, we have an instance at Rudolstadt, where ladies of high rank, otherwise wholly absorbed in the duties of society, pass two hours twice a week entirely with children. You see how it works when carried into actual practice, this invitation of mine, "Come, let us live for our children."

You have given me much pleasure, dear cousin, by your description of the way in which your dear sons received the little games, and immediately set them in operation. Your intelligent comprehension and account of them sends back my work to me in an embellished form. Your mode of playing is altogether too charming. If it were not so shameless a request I would beg for many such accounts of your experiences of play. But I know well and I honour the duties of a mother, and of the mistress of a house, and I willingly waive my request, although I cannot help regarding any neglect to record your valuable observations as a

real loss for childhood. Also your comparative account of the various expressions of children is of great importance; it is a subject to which one can rarely get even cultivated parents to pay attention. How I should like to be always by when you are playing with the children; what treasures of experience I should gather! Allow me to confide something to you in the most profound secrecy—you are a born Kindergarten teacher; and these young girls, too, who are growing up around you, must love you very dearly, I should think, for your unassuming motherly caressing nature. Such a nature is a very precious possession, and one which tends towards the weal of our common manhood: and she to whom God has vouchsafed it ought religiously to cherish it. Your dear sons, the outcome and the proof of such a character, were universally beloved in Keilhau, because of their openhearted simplicity and their natural politeness. I am happy, excellent parents, to be able to tell you this. Another thing; I shall perhaps now and then for the good of the world of children make use of facts which I have gathered from your homely observations, without of course trenching upon your privacy. Let it pass without notice, and continue to write in as unrestrained a manner as before.

You are afraid that I picture to myself your family life as more happy than it really is. Do not believe anything of the kind! I know the actualities of life from all points of view only too well; but behind the simple and oftentimes unrecognisable face of the actual I have learnt to see and to treasure the features of the true human inner ideal. I know that shadows are a part of its surroundings; ay, and that oftentimes the deepest black of shadows serves to give the right brilliancy to the beauty of a fair spot, that above the dark clouds the dazzling clearness of the sun is enthroned, and that the sun himself often seems to acquire enhanced radiance when his beams break out from among dark cloud masses. What attracts me is not so much life in its outward appearance, as the intelligence which enlivens and cherishes that life; in a word, the spirit that makes itself manifest through the life.

My whole household sends all of you the kindest greetings. We hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here next year.

I trust this very long letter will not be a disturbing element in your life ; far rather may it be a sign of the deep interest I take, even down to its smallest details, in the life to which you have devoted yourself.

Write again very soon, and tell me how your preparations are going on, and how many children have come to the Kindergarten class.

Wishing you with all my heart a most enjoyable Christmas, I am, dear cousin,

Your affectionate Cousin,

FR. FR.

LETTER V.

Blankenburg, *December 19th*, 1840.

VERY DEAR AND HONOURED COUSIN,—

You have admitted me lately into your beautiful family life and mother's life, in many ways, and permitted me to become a witness of your joys. True mother's love, real woman's life, however, appear in their clearest glory at this sweet Christmastide, when they strive to bring the highest and best—the divine in child-like guise, the Christ-child, into the midst of the family circle. Will you, in your kindness, allow me to send you a Christmas greeting? How can I doubt of that, when I remember your character, so ready to find pleasure in everything.

You stand clearly before my mind in your simplicity and modesty, as well as in the far-reaching activity of your mother's solicitude. You show me the lofty influence of mother's work and mother's life upon child nature and child life : may I, in return, show you the nature, the power, the meaning of this motherly and womanly influence as seen reflected in the clear mirror of life? Gazing into this life-mirror, I have beheld woman's work as the first and most essential link of the great chain of human life. It is not enough for man, as an intelligent being, that good shall result from his actions ; his dignity, his station as the child of God is only then duly shown forth, when he has gained a clear consciousness of that which he has created. Thereby he attains clearness as to what he wishes, and what he ought to do, and so he comes to a

true self-appreciation. He acquires the elevating sentiment that man stands not alone in his work, that his aspirations are not unshared; and this quickening sense of community with other men is all indispensable to a many-sided activity, as well as to work which is meant to endure; wherefore I trust the Christ-child may bring to you, also, this gladdening sentiment, this truth of deepest import. To create this sentiment, to awake this consciousness in all women is the object of the little book I send you ("Woman's Mission," by Krüsi). Permit me, therefore, to present it as a modest little Christmas gift. If it serves to help your intelligent nature, always so quick to spread good things abroad, in bringing home a consciousness of the meaning and importance of woman's influence to many of your lady friends, and thus uniting them in the cause of the elevation of manhood, through and in childhood, then indeed shall we, year by year, greet Christmastides fuller and fuller of beauty and of meaning.

Your sons Robert and Moritz have played well and intelligently with the gifts that I sent you to test for me. I also have learnt a great deal from their play, and have received much pleasure too; wherefore I should like, at this sweet Christmastime, to give some pleasure to my cousins in return. If you will permit me, I will ask them to accept the packet accompanying your book, namely, the next following gift of my series, which they will find now suitable to their age. I do not doubt that their father, with his great interest in his sons' doings, will gladly permit them to use this box of materials for play or for real occupation; and I hope they will pass many leisure hours over it, especially in these holidays.

It is a law with this, as with the former box, that in each construction the whole of the materials must be used up: or at least each separate piece must be arranged so as to stand in some actual relation to the whole. While this awakens the thinking spirit, it also strengthens and elevates the imagination; because, amidst so much variety, the underlying unity is made visibly apparent, and the invisible law is felt.

There is, therefore, nothing strange or incompatible about this gift, in regard to the meaning of the feast of Christmas; on the

other hand, it is in close sympathy with its spirit and its tendency, inasmuch as it contributes its little mite also, namely, the power of intelligently showing and thankfully acknowledging that unity which pervades all things, and which is dimly felt by the soul, and whose message of peace the Christ-child brought us in these very days. Therefore I may at least claim your indulgence for the packet I send you to-day, because of this its inner meaning.

May the highest and best that all your spirits are longing for to-day, really come to you all, so that the splendid wish your kindness has found for me—Peace and Joy (*Friede und Freude*)—may be reflected and re-echoed in the hearts of you all, an echo of the heavenly greeting which was given to the world one holy night, uniting it with God, and renewing its youth.

Your loving
COUSIN.

LETTER VI.

Blankenburg, *January 18th, 1841.*

DEAR AND ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

Your kind letter shows so unmistakably how you have known and experienced that which alone forms our true joy, that I will merely now say that your welcome letter, dated December 25th and January 10th, brought me true Christmas pleasure, being as it were an echo of this beloved festival. I was especially charmed with the few touches in which you described your sons' Christmas joys over their little stock of Christmas gifts. I have passed Christmas in the course of these many years, in all kinds of ways, accompanied by presents of the most various value, down to mere nothings; and very often, I must confess, I have received the deepest joy from those Christmases which brought me the smallest and the simplest presents.

Please tell my little cousins this, with my love; so that they may rightly value their Christmas with its simple gifts, and may cherish the pure joys which it yields them.

Christmas presents derive their true value not from their costliness, but from the spirit in which they are given and received. May my dear little cousins long continue to receive their Christ-

mas presents in the pure and simple joy of the heart. From the bottom of my heart I rejoice to be able fully to share such joys with them.

In view of the great interest you take in my work and my educational efforts, you must allow me, my dear cousin, to lead you on further and further into their inner spirit, and the latest development to which they have attained

Much that is good, much that is noble, much that is indeed sublime, and altogether worthy of humanity exists upon the earth, especially amongst us Germans, and particularly in our family life and in the lives of individual women and of mothers; but it lies too widely scattered and is unconscious of its own existence, and by consequence it lacks unity of purpose. Now, unity of purpose is the true safeguard in life against surrounding circumstances, and is the true means towards attaining a vigorous powerful growth upwards and onwards, towards making outwardly manifest that which stirs the soul within. This inner unity for one great life-purpose is what I am striving to found; it is the beginning of a mutually helping, mutually respecting association of noble-hearted women—perhaps quite simple persons in their outward relationships—with true mothers all working towards their mutual enlightenment, encouragement, and invigoration. By such an association the separate, disunited women who now are like single dew-drops, each reflecting the sun's rays in splendid tints, will show forth the great life of humanity which amidst all its varied aspects, nevertheless, is one grand whole; just as all the dew, water, and rain-drops unite to provide for us the rainbow, the arch of peace connecting heaven and earth. I hope you may catch my meaning from this imperfect representation of it.

On this account I let Krüsi's little book, called "Woman's Mission," appear like a guest at this festal time in the homes of several women and mothers; and I am pleased to find that it has been received everywhere with a right sisterly welcome. For instance, amongst others, take the foundress of the Rudolstadt "Mothers' Association for the Promotion of the Kindergarten," who writes thus to me:—"I have read your little book with

great interest; it attracted me strongly by its clearness and by the graceful position full of blessings given or taken therein assigned to women. I wish I could place the book in the hands of every mother." The volume did, indeed, travel round the circle of the ladies forming this association. It became known at court, and the simple-hearted, eminently motherly Princess Karl herself asked for it. According to my view, dear cousin, such a sentiment amongst women and mothers, uniting them, and rousing them to mutual consciousness of their position, should be cherished with the utmost care. May the Rudolstadt Mothers' Association, therefore, become more and more conscious of itself as a whole, self-poised; and may your own association reach also to like consciousness! When once each one of these separate associations has attained to clear perception of its aims and consciousness of its own vitality, then a higher union will quickly form itself, that is, union from a higher standpoint. So a single floweret of auricula or hyacinth carries with it the conception of a splendid, perfect, living whole; but it takes many of these flowerets, grouped on one uniting stalk, to form the lovely flower-cluster.

Endeavour, dear cousin (forgive my plain speaking) to become quite clear in your ideas and at one within yourself, a task which in your case is surely easy enough; and then clearness and unification with the world without will come of themselves. Let us only first win one such circle, and a second will soon arise; and when we have two, which, if God will, shall enter into a higher union together, I believe that the cause of childhood, the true family-life, is won.

Therefore, dear cousin, only now be true and endure. I fully realise the truth of what you have said so finely about woman's work and mission, but if you, with full conviction, are following out a larger mission, God will double your strength for the fulfilment of your own special vocation; He can awake greater readiness in you for all those duties which you have to work through in your household and family life, and so you will soon prove equal to your task once more. And I may tell you from personal experience, that our power and courage, and above all

our enjoyment in single and small things grow apace when once we have the consciousness of working directly for a greater, and indeed, for the greatest, general result. Believe me, dear cousin, or at any rate do not misunderstand me, the true care of children and of childhood, the true care of manhood in childhood, and thus the true care of the divine in the human, is, as it were, a true service of God, and one which the present stage of the development of humanity imperatively demands.

You think it is odd that your association in Gera seems to be arranging itself upon opposite lines to those of the Rudolstadt Association ; for the latter arose through the energy of women, and yours was chiefly founded by men. But to me this discrepancy seems on the surface only, the circumstances are really almost identical, and I think their differences shadow out the expression of a higher law of life.

Permit me, in virtue of the great indulgence which my dear cousin, your husband, always shows towards my life-confessions, to lay before you quite openly my convictions upon this matter. Our Creator, as a loving Father, has shown us the duties and the laws of life in countless symbols ; and through what we perceive He has made known to us what is above and beyond perception ; for instance, in growing things, especially in trees, which set forth a whole world and system of life before our eyes ; in the seasons ; in the solar system and its laws ; and in many other ways ; but before all the rest in marriage, through its necessities and laws. Marriage, looked at in its whole being, with all its duties and all its significance, and the knowledge thus gained applied to the other claims of life, yields the true Ariadne's clue which leads us through the labyrinth of existence.

The laws exemplified in marriage repeat themselves in all things, wherever man aims at any true life-unity ; even in man himself, where the soul (the feminine element) and the intellect (the male element) strive to attain to harmony and clearness, so that they may together penetrate to the peace of life. I hope you can now see without my pursuing the idea further into its details what lofty meaning, what deep truth, are enshrined in the method which is being created by your Women's and Mothers' Associa-

tion for the promotion of the Kindergarten.¹ Foster this method, dear cousin, beyond that which already exists in your own mind, cherish it with the most watchful care, for woman's soul must gain stability and clearness by man's intellect, and man's intellect harmony and life by woman's soul; and thus the true life of mankind, as the guardian of childhood, will shine forth in its perfect form, and be acknowledged as such. You know how careful and tender we have to be in married life, and in the household, about the commonest everyday things, and so must it be in every relationship in which, as in marriage, we have to set forth the representation of a lasting, peaceful, and gladsome life-unity.

Forgive my frankness; but only frankness amongst honourable persons can lead mankind onwards towards its goal, and in the face of so lofty an aim as ours—nothing less than the representation of the divine in daily life and through daily life—why should we hesitate to be frank? You see by what I have said how specially close to the watchful woman's-soul and mother's-instinct lie life, and the key to life, and its control. Ought not mothers, then, to use their great privilege, their treasure, their talisman, given to them by God our Father, for the weal of mankind, or at all events for the benefit of the children whom they have borne with so many pains?

Marriage, moreover, sheds an absolutely clear light over the interconnection of life-relationships, or at least it gives us the means of explaining them, and whoever does not use it for this purpose has himself to blame. From this we can perceive that clearness of purpose in life is one of our duties in life. We ought to be clear about all the circumstances of life, and about all life-relationships—this is the first condition towards remaining faithful in all our dealings, and deriving perpetual blessing from them. The second condition is that we shall really be, within ourselves, that which we are striving to make ourselves outwardly appear.

¹ Froebel is advising his cousin to continue to accept the help of her gentleman friends, rather than conform to the Rudolstadt model, where ladies alone worked, but wherein he himself probably provided the intellectual characteristics desired.

You, dear cousin, a contented wife and a happy mother, take great pains over your housekeeping, and carefully watch your children's training. Make yourself fully conscious of all these spheres of work, and of the whole value and meaning of your position, and hold fast the resulting claims upon you for active life-work in the stillness and calm of your own mind, and in all simplicity and modesty and self-retirement. You do well ; there are many things in life about which one can never speak, and others about which one only dare speak with intimate friends ; but in the stillness of consciousness within, and in silent action without us, we ought yet to hold these things fast, and to bring them ever more and more to clearness.

This is what I think, my dear cousin, as to your life-relationships ; I esteem them as unusually fortunate and harmonious, in that they permit you to work for the welfare of mankind by their means.

Most men, and they oftentimes the noblest hearted, esteem their position in life and their power of usefulness too lightly, whereby many a good work goes undone. We ought always to remember that we are all tools in the hands of God, we are His servants even in the least things ; and we should, then, in all modesty and humility, give that anxious care to our work in the world which is His due.

Amongst the things which exist by the fiat of God—and all things, truly, must be regarded as originating from Him—I hold it to be one of the most fundamental laws, that everything has its true place in Space, and its true utility in Time. It is because of this that everything works so smoothly and so happily in the solar system—and shall it be otherwise with Man, the first of conscious beings ? Let us at least equal in this regard the unconscious sun, earth, moon, rain, and dew. What cannot one single shower accomplish at the proper time, in the proper place, and of the proper amount ? I say to myself : That which the creatures of God, inferior to man, can accomplish by God's laws through instinct, that Man ought consciously to accomplish according to God's will, acting by his own free will and choice ; for in this consists his liberty. Courage then ! Courage and trust !

In exceptional circumstances we often attach too much importance to separate effects and single speeches, but in ordinary life we are apt to pass over these too carelessly. Take, for example, the expression of your little Hermann, "*Es ist schön*" ("It is lovely"). The ancients differed altogether from us in this matter; whence it comes that they so often "entertained angels unawares," and their life was so much nearer the divine than is ours, that they themselves were conscious of the near approach.

What is it, dear cousin, that I am trying to convey to you by all this? That it is not enough in the phase of the development of life and of humanity to which we have now attained that anything should merely occur, but we ought to be able to consciously observe its occurrence. When we bring anything, be it ever so small, fully before our consciousness, we always gain something in clearness and insight. Let us take this phrase of Hermann's, *Es ist schön* ("It is lovely"), and ask why he does not hold to the phrase suggested by you, *Es ist hübsch* ("It is pretty"). I reason thus with myself about this: *hübsch* comes from *hub*, that is from *haben* ("to possess"), and implies a preference above some other thing not so pretty; it necessitates the idea of a similar thing with which to compare it, that is, it calls up an image of a second object besides the one under contemplation, and in general it is a composite, twofold idea, therefore too difficult and intellectual to please a child. On the other hand, *schön*, ("lovely") comes from *scheinen*, "to shine," which suggests a complete unity in itself, something self-illuminated, like the sun. This explanation shows also the simple intellectual power gained by regarding a thing separately, by and through itself; as here, when the word *Scheinen* ("to shine") connotes unity. And hence we can see how much easier it comes to the simple, unrestrained child to call these forms, lovely as the sunlight, *schön* ("lovely," etymologically "shining"), rather than *hübsch* ("pretty," etymologically "desirable to possess"), whereas, perhaps, an older child, accustomed to compare things together, would possibly prefer to call such forms *hübsch* (desirable above others). To whom am I indebted for this reflection? To little Hermann, by your kindness in repeating his phrase. And are we to regard this as an isolated

reflection? By no means. It leads me on to perceive that the life and the intuitive observing power of a child are as yet one and indivisible.¹

You have given me real pleasure by the news that Krüsi's little book has met with so cordial a reception. I am much obliged to you for telling me. For this book is one of my favourites, and I rely greatly on it for winning mothers to a higher consciousness of their mother's duties, and so to a perception of the benefits of associated or joint training and care of children. You will more and more come to see, dear cousin, that without this mutual association in the care, in the real culture, of children and of young persons, no sure testimony can be won for our educational principles, and no enduring result can be accomplished.

Harmony between the womanly intelligence and the maternal life, between the consciousness and the act, is what we, in our zeal for the welfare of children and of humanity, have to aim at. But this result is not obtained amongst you women in the same way as amongst us men. We meet together for mutual counsel and aid, and determine upon united action by a general resolution. You, on the other hand, are like the world of flowers and trees, where, under the awakening, illuminating, warmth-giving rays of the sun, each single, individual life blossoms forth at once, and all of them at the same time, together; and where, moreover, each one can only clearly see her own peaceful, joyful life as it is reflected in the lives of others, and, if I may say so, as embellished when thus seen. Just so an auricula-bloom can only perceive its own existence, clear and beautiful, in the existence of another; notwithstanding that in a cluster of auriculas there is much variation in form, in colour, in grouping, in odour, and, in short, in the general effect.

Observe, dear cousin, that I desire the highest life-unity for the blossoms of humanity, for the women and mothers; not an externally enforced, artificially planned unity, but one which while it grants to each one a firm retention of her individual personality, grows and develops from within outwards, blooming and fragrant.

¹ Froebel's etymology is purely fanciful.

I desire that their life may, like the life of the plants, freely awake and shape itself under the influence of the noontide sun of life, after God's own law; unison and concord, a higher, nay, the highest symphony of life, with rhythm, melody, and harmony, will then spring forth of themselves. Thus it will not be long before we two arrive at a perfect mutual understanding, and this agreement of two persons only will readily extend itself until your friends also come to share fully in our plans and ideas.

Then the will of God shall be expressed in the life of man, consciously and of free choice (through the freedom of the will); whereas in physical nature and in the inferior animals His will is manifested as a natural law and under the compelling rule of instinct.

What I strive to win for the life of individual women and mothers, I strive to win for family life also.

For such a change I am striving to prepare, by means of my games and occupations. I hope they may succeed in their aim. If women would definitely put their case before the enlightened men of their circle, and let them see what their heart and soul, their intelligence and their life are planning for the welfare of childhood and the family, the men would certainly bestir themselves, and gladly meet such desires half-way. And in this regard you yourself will assuredly be able to arouse, invigorate and encourage your sisters and friends when you tell them of your three Gera gentlemen who have in all genuine manly earnestness embraced the cause which you set before them—the weal of childhood, and of the family in its earliest beginnings.

And I can give you another token of hope for the rapid progress of the good cause. The reigning princess of Sondershausen has decided to establish a Kindergarten in her palace on the model, or rather according to the idea, of the Rudolstadt Kindergarten, and is informing herself of the necessary details through the tutor of the young princes and princesses, who is in communication with me. My answer to his letter of inquiry has already been despatched, and I shall tell you later on what comes of it. The tutor is mightily taken with the matter, and so is, as it would appear, the princess herself.

I send my best thanks to Mlle. Erwina for her friendly New Year's greeting to the German Kindergarten, expressed in the subscription for a share. But it seems to me really remarkable how languidly and slowly the world of German women concerns itself with our undertaking. So far as my experience goes, the plan is highly appreciated, and yet at the same time (while it is quite easily to be started if only several persons will join together with subscriptions for the purpose), the list of subscribers fills up so slowly, name by name, that as I have said, it will be a year and more before it is quite full. If the fixed number of subscribers is not obtained, well, then no one will be asked to pay ; but if the work succeeds, as I hope it will, then surely no intelligent German wife or maiden would like to be left out of it : so that either way there is no risk to the subscribers. Rightly understood, a subscription is nothing more than a preliminary undertaking that one approves of the plan in general, and that if it comes into operation one will join to a definite extent in furthering its interests : and yet people seem to be as afraid of giving their signature as if it involved a weighty obligation.

Thank the dear old grandfather, who enters so kindly into my ideas of suitable occupations for children ; and tell him that although his strength does not allow him directly to work for them, he can yet raise his voice in their favour on all suitable occasions ; and the voice of age and experience is everywhere received with the respect due to it. Besides, men seem to require that a voice of authority shall arise and speak firmly to them.

I send my greeting to my two dear young cousins, and thank them for their parcels. I have just been learning something from them by a critical examination of their drawings. I hope soon to send them back a return gift of the same nature either written or printed.

I am particularly pleased that your husband honours my games with such a critical inquiry ; if only I could instil into him a knowledge of their inner spirit and life, I have not the smallest doubt but that I should enjoy the full approval of such a thoughtful teacher and real educationist. The special value of these games is most difficult to express through the lifeless

medium of words, unless one becomes mathematically dry, but it manifests itself easily enough in action and in life. Remember me very kindly to your good husband, and tell him my purpose is to prepare a fruitful soil for the future teachers of these pupils, so that not only shall the seed they sow spring up readily in mind and spirit, but shall, like all healthy and vigorous growths, thrust deep roots downward.

How gladly I receive your numerous interspersed comments and speculations! You seize so firmly, in all aspects, the inmost, deepest meaning which I wish these games to take when played by children under the conduct of grown persons, that I promise myself the best results from your use of them. Try as soon as you can to train up little helpers amongst the elder children who take part in the games; girls readily and gladly assist, and the whole work may thus be rendered much lighter for you. If, after the general games are over, you now and then play or sing for a little while with the elder and more competent children, you will soon train up two or three playfellows well grounded in the games and firmly confident in the songs. We at Rudolstadt are constantly doing this. There is emulation amongst the younger ones to be chosen as helpers in this way.

I should like next to give you a little sketch of a complete chain of games.

1. Whenever I lead the games, whether with the older or the younger children, I always begin with the *ball*. I find its effect is to unite and quiet the children, especially if I use it in a manner particularly directed to attain these objects.

2. I always begin by turning to a child who happens to stand close to me, and make whatever he is doing my starting-point gradually leading on from that to some game which all may play together; then pausing a little at any suitable circumstance which may occur in the game, I use that as a passage to the introduction of the ball. This passage is easy to manage in quite a natural way. The more closely the beginning of the game is knit to the life of the child, flowing as it were out of himself, the better the game develops. You need not be anxious about this. The children themselves soon show you the best way to set to work,

You have so often played with children yourself that you can regard the circle as already formed for games.

3. As soon as I have gained the attention of one child to the ball, several others quickly fall in also ; and we rapidly pass from the questions, "What is this?" or "What have I got here?" to the question, "What can you tell me about this ball?" Then, holding the ball in front of the children, or in the midst of them, that they may clearly see it, I try to pick out from amongst the various answers I receive such as will best lead them to observe its general properties. And now I bring them to the definite decision, "The ball is pretty," whereupon I sing them the phrase. Meanwhile I am quietly arranging the children in a circle without their perceiving it, and then I put the question to them, "Would you like to look at this ball?" So one part of the game follows on from the other.

I have a sufficient provision of balls with me that each child may have one, and I say or sing, as I give him his ball,—

"Make a cup with hands spread wide,
And put the pretty ball inside ;"

And this brings me easily to the song,—

"In my open hand I hold a pretty little ball,
Let me rock it to and fro, and mind it does not fall," etc.

The ball is then rocked to and fro, or up and down, and presently it rolls a little in the hand : as soon as this is perceived, the game-leader puts the fact into words, and says or sings,—

"The ball gets tired of lying still,
If there's a chance to move, it will !"

I let the attention of the children rest awhile upon these words, and upon this movement of the ball, as I did before upon the consideration of the properties of the ball in itself, and again upon the ball as an object in repose ; in this manner the pair of opposites, rest and motion, become quite distinct to the child, and he is readily led to an intelligent consideration and comparison of the two states.¹

After a series of various ball-games we come to one in which

¹ See Froebel's "Ball-Games."

the ball is made to travel from one child to another, and this is followed by the children themselves moving round, to the song, "Come, let us all move round and round," etc.

You see from this how simply the lifeless ball calls up active life, and the single quiet ball-game is converted into a general lively action-game.

The children learn these songs incredibly fast, especially if you sing them very clearly and slowly all together in chorus. Even if the little ones do not outwardly seem to join in, they are thinking it all to themselves, as is proved by the words and songs welling forth from their little throats like water from a full spring when they are by themselves.

What has just been described shows forth a pretty little chain of games, or at least a definite selection of games; and it may, *so long as the children find pleasure in it*, be repeated in some of the following play-hours.¹

The games form in themselves a closed chain proceeding from the simplest and most necessary links; a closely connected whole, depending upon necessary laws; yet it is not at all needful upon this account rigidly to follow the order of the games as given in the series. This would quite destroy that fresh merry life which should animate the games. One rule must be, however, unfailingly and uniformly observed; the games must always begin with the earliest and easiest ones of whatever selection may have been made, and must rise by development from simple to complex, according to the universal and never-to-be-forgotten law; but within this limit free choice and unhindered play of movement is allowed. Otherwise the games would cease to be games, and lose their full educational power. You yourself, dear cousin, like every game-leader, would find yourself cramped and hindered.

The main thought must be held fast; but the precise form and style in which the games are played must be the outcome of the moment. The freer and more spontaneous the arrangement, the more excellent is the effect of the game.

¹ Here follows, in the letter, Froebel's well-known description of "Ball and Action Games."

It is amidst the perpetual and inextricable combination of the limited with the illimitable, of the definite with the infinite, in every sphere of human existence, that the free unfolding of man's nature, his liberty of soul, becomes possible ; and this according to God's will as well as according to man's own inner God-given law (that is, according to his conscience) and in harmony with the grand unity of living nature.

You now see, my dear cousin, that the games and occupations which I have arranged have a theoretical as well as a practical value, a subjective value for the individual person as well as an objective value for the little group of companions in social life ; and also that by their nature and because of the germs of mental development which they carry with them, or have the power at any rate to call into life, they have a scientific as well as an æsthetic meaning ; they are as valuable on the moral as on the intellectual side, alike important for the heart, the head, and the activities of common life. They are of as great moment in the development of virtue as in the development of religious life ; and, in the latter, they are of especial value towards the acquirement of pure Christian principles.

On account of this fundamental, all-encompassing character of the games, they meet with general sympathy from every one who plays them herself, or even has seen them played by others, and has thereby personally experienced their influence. Therefore, in good time, and with earnest study on the part of lovers of the method, three results will eventually come about. Firstly, these games will win ever more and more general acceptance and application ; secondly, they will pass beyond the narrow circle of separate children into the family as a whole, and will become a national possession, nay, a possession belonging to the whole human race, like the great Greek games once were ; thirdly, they will in their own time grow ever more perfect on the one side in beauty and grace, and on the other side in the general service of humanity.

I have let myself run on in all this detail that your gentlemen friends and colleagues may read it, or better still, that you may tell it to them ; so that they may see that we have here no childish

or one-sided play, but games which represent true thoughts and ideas of adult and cultivated men, and which, as such, are worthy the acceptance of intelligent and acute women and mothers, as well as of thoughtful and active-minded men and fathers. They throw a bright light across the past, they work powerfully and beneficently in the present, and are filled with blessed promise for the future. How comes this to be possible? Through the fact that they study to set forth what a man ought to do ; namely, to accomplish in small things in separateness and imperfection—always striving nevertheless to be perfect—that which God does in great things, in universality and in complete perfection.

Man must ever aim at learning God's methods of development of culture, of education, as applied to humanity ; and especially at striving to set them forth as applied to his own individual education, and the education of his family and his nation. Here you see my teacher, my professor, who teaches from the book of the highest and holiest revelations of life, a book not merely held in the hand or got by heart, but set forth in actual living characters, and with never a contradiction.

The educational method and plan of God shows us how upon the level background of life He shapes forth ever clear, mutually helpful, living laws ; and these are the conditions under which man is free to rise above himself, to educate and fill himself with culture. Therefore he must proceed through much that is contradictory or in disorder, and which passes before him, nay, also within him,—guided by the inner light which is at one with his very being—before he can attain to harmony of life and learn the laws of life. I intend also, or rather I recognise already, that the games produced or invented by me form an image of the tendencies of education. It does no harm to the development of the children, when now and then something which should come later is taken earlier, and when things which should be separate are taken together, if only the child comes quicker to a comprehension of the spirit of the whole, thereby ; under all variety there lies a basis of unity, and under all apparent irrationality or chance a basis of law. Secondly, the child should be so generally trained by these games, that later on in life, when his mind is competent

to grasp the idea, he shall be able to look back and discover for himself the basis of unity and law which underlay them. Thirdly, that he may perceive their unity and law to be one with the unity and law pervading his own life and its development. Lastly and fourthly, that this double perception may give him the means and show him the way, at all events approximately, to trace out the unity and law underlying all vital phenomena whatever.¹

The comprehension of the games to be arrived at later on by the growing mind of the child, is the main thing to aim at. To awake and cherish mental life in the child, to bring the laws of life before him as an intuition, or as a clear consciousness, and to enable him right fully to enjoy the fruit of after-life, peace and joy, is the aim we have in these children's games.

Endeavour above all things to stimulate a more vigorous attempt at carrying on a Kindergarten; because the thing itself, in action, speaks better than any written or printed address. We have seen excellent results in Rudolstadt already. One thing is very necessary—quiet patience on the part of the teacher, so as to give the children plenty of time to feel at home with her.

For the many imperfections of this letter I must plead as an excuse that I have been frequently interrupted whilst writing it.

The friendliest greetings to all of you,

From your affectionate COUSIN.

LETTER VII.

Blankenburg, 30th January,² 1841.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—

A part of my answer to your letter, the receipt of which gave me such pleasure in many different ways, is still waiting to be

¹ Here follow the games with the sphere and cube, and action-games. Cf. Froebel's *Sonntagsblatt*.

² Here, as also in the dating of the previous letter, the old-fashioned "Jänner" is used for *January* ("Januar"). It had already become obsolete in the chief towns, but was still usual in the provinces. "Muhme," also the true German word for a female cousin, and always used by Froebel in addressing Madame Schmidt, had already been replaced in the towns by the modern "Cousine," borrowed from the French.

written, when I now receive another and an equally delightful missive from you, telling me that with a rapidity I never expected your beautiful garden (Kindergarten) has been already set out, that it is being worked upon and brought into cultivation, and that in due course, following the months of the year and the seasons, it will be sown with suitable seeds of all varieties. Yes, dear cousin, there is this about the Kindergarten that is especially delightful—the sower, even in the act of sowing, is rewarded by both flower and fruit, and that in double portion, one for herself and one for the children.

I am right glad that you have struck out a beginning on your own account, in firm and sure reliance of finding the true way. Why should you not find the true way? I have learnt it from mothers and children, and am still daily learning from them. But you are a mother yourself; and to create direct from the source of inspiration, without the intervention of any intermediary, is always the best. Original work is always the best sort of work. That you have progressive minds by your side to support you, amongst your gentlemen friends, and can avail yourself of their strength, gives me peculiar pleasure. This is of manifold significance, and I send Pastor Lang my hearty thanks for his support.

I am sending you a quantity of songs. But as you will certainly be finding out for yourself many which are much prettier than these, I would ask you to copy them out for me.

And in the interest of the children I have still another request to make—that you would record in writing the most important facts about each separate child. It seems to me most necessary for the comprehension, and for the true treatment of child-nature, that such observations should be made public from time to time, in order that children may become better and better understood in their manifestations, and may therefore be more rightly treated, and that true care and observation of unsophisticated childhood may ever increase.

I enjoy, in anticipation, your next letter, which will bring me news of the happy progress of your Kindergarten.

Your grateful Cousin,

FR. FR.

LETTER VIII.

Blankenburg, 27th Feb., 1841.

DEAR AND DEEPLY RESPECTED COUSIN,—

Although I have not before me your last letter but one—that one in which you kindly wrote me so many details of your work—because (since our life here is all shared in common) the circle at Keilhau are now enjoying its perusal, as I sent it to them a few days since, I will nevertheless try to set down what occurred to me on its first reading, and answer its various points, though, perhaps, not in the same order as you put them.

Before anything else I must express my pleasure that you are working in good understanding with the principals of the Collegiate School, and especially with such active and helpful co-operation on the part of Pastor Lang. This gives your undertaking an inward as well as an outward support, and endows it with the character of sharing in the work common to all the various educational bodies; which cannot fail to be most helpful to the stability and to the usefulness alike of their work and of yours. You send me, kind cousin, friendly congratulations about our Mothers' Association in Rudolstadt, and I assure you that I am very pleased with its success; but we cannot pride ourselves upon the co-operation of such powerful male assistance as you have. This arises from various reasons. You see, dear cousin, every centre has its special advantages and disadvantages.

Our mothers and nursery governesses share more largely in the life of the children, it would seem, than do yours in Gera. Several mothers with us take definite parts in the games, others copy out the songs that we sing, and I believe that many games are repeated in the family circle at home.

I am glad to be able to set down for you and the sister institutions in Frankfurt and Rudolstadt several favourable points which I have observed. Firstly, the advantages and fruitful results of these Kindergartens have been proved upon the children who have taken part in them. Secondly, there is a continual increase in the

number of children. In Rudolstadt we have to limit our number to twenty-six, because of our want of room. Thirdly, we observe that children who scarcely sing at all with us whilst the games are being played, nevertheless sing away in the confidence of their own homes, clear, merry and loud. Fourthly, our children play our games with their little brothers and sisters at home, and use our names too, quite correctly. Fifthly, and this is the most important observation, we find that naughty ways, especially amongst the boys, disappear, while at the same time a greater power of original action makes its appearance.

And we must tell you also of a further point we observe; that, as a rule, the smaller children play more intelligently, quietly, imaginatively, steadily, and persistently, than the elder ones, who are much more easily distracted. At the same time, we notice that this fault of the elder ones grows less as we go on.

I hold it of the greatest importance that we should interchange the observations that we make, so that little by little we may come to know the grounds and the conditions of the phenomena we observe, and can formulate their laws. Then we shall be in a position to assist those things which are favourable, and to check those which are disadvantageous, to the good development of the children.

On Study also = P. 89, 110, 121

I am firmly convinced that all the phenomena of the child-world, those which delight us as well as those which grieve us, depend upon fixed laws as definite as those of the cosmos, the planetary system, and the operations of nature; and it is therefore possible to discover them and examine them. When once we know and have assimilated these laws, we shall be able powerfully to counteract any retrograde and faulty tendencies in the children, and to encourage, at the same time, all that is good and virtuous.

In accordance with this truth, and supporting my firm conviction of it, observe how the children are impelled by a certain yearning desire and dim ineffable feeling which urges them on in quite a remarkable and special way to the unwearied pursuit of circular action-games; for these will lead them towards a comprehension of the solar system and the orbital motion of worlds.

And further I will confide to you, who so thoughtfully and carefully study the spirit of children's play—~~but you must be careful to whom you repeat it~~—that in my play and in my games I have always had a definite second purpose beyond that of guiding the children back upon their own nature, namely, to lead them onward to observe the life of the outer world, of the cosmos, and especially of the physical nature that most closely surrounds them; because the cosmical laws can only be expressed to them by means of individual instances. Thus I hope later on to bring the children to a practical (and by “practical” I mean such as can be turned to real use in every day life), to a practical knowledge of God, His words, and His modes of action, and therefore of His nature, and of His will; and then they will not only be capable of recognising and examining into the will of God, but also of acting in accordance with it. And further, ~~dear-cousin~~, I may say in ~~confidence~~ that the ultimate aim and special purpose of my games and system of play is to bring the children, through the aid of physical nature and animal life (here especially represented by children's love, and our love for children, with the mutually reflex actions of these),—and also through Jesus, as the greatest lover of children—to a true union with God in sentiment, thought and action; that is, to a truly religious state.

The enthusiastic and self-sacrificing efforts of yourself and Pastor Lang in conducting the play-hours without any emolument, is in the highest degree worthy of our thanks. May a corresponding result come to reward you for your good care of the great principle! May that principle itself be manifested, also, in a certain degree of completeness! The Rudolstadt Mothers' Association is not so fortunate in this respect. For Middendorff and I, on account of the rapidity with which it is necessary to travel thither, and also on account of the bad weather and the bad state of the roads, are obliged to drive every day to Rudolstadt, which, of course, makes a serious inroad upon our funds; and beyond this there are the expenses of warming the play-room and of purchasing the necessary materials. Yet every one expresses the wish that the work we have begun shall be carried on through

the summer, and a garden and playground up in the hills are already offered us without charge.¹

Do not think ill of me, dear cousin, because I have perhaps not expressed myself sufficiently thankful for your furtherance of my work, and your co-operation in spreading abroad the Kindergarten system, and above all, for your foundation and conduct of the institution in Gera. It is an extraordinary peculiarity of my nature that I am often least profuse in thanks, where I am inwardly most thankful and most rejoicing; for I am too apt to assume that my grateful state of mind is easily perceivable by those to whom it is due. To my hurt I have experienced this fact several times; and as it would seem, I have repeated the error in regard to yourself, my best of cousins, to whom I feel so deeply thankful. Also, I will confess to you that I fear to speak too openly of my dearest joys and hopes, lest by exposing them I should cause them to wither away. Enough: let me say that the Kindergarten in Gera which has arisen from your enthusiasm and from your intelligence, planted and nurtured by yourself, is the dearest of all to me, as it now stands; and that I acknowledge it to be the best-grounded and the firmest-established and deepest-rooted of all, in the public life as also in your own individual life. Through your friendly co-operation it is like a strawberry plant which silently drives its runners here and there, and whose runners, where they find specially rich and tempting soil, throw out roots which soon become independent plants for themselves. In this figure I foreshadow what may be expected to come out of the part now taken in the games by the elder girls, about which you write to me. It is precisely this silent, unexpected and unnoticed progress that I desire, and that is so dear to me. God prosper it!

You are right in saying that many games, when they have been long and carefully played, become graceful and beautiful in themselves. Amongst them I rank "The ball flies high to form an arch," and many other ball games.

[*Note, Feb. 29th.*] I am very grateful to you for having taken

¹ Rudolstadt is surrounded by hills, and the citizens delight to possess a "berg," or hill-meadow, in which they usually build a summer house; and here they spend their summer evenings or holiday afternoons.

the trouble to wind and sew the balls yourself. Permit me to make a request as to the finished surface of these balls: and that is, that each should be entirely of one colour, and also that the series should follow the prismatic order, the colours of the rainbow.

Studying the lives of children and following the bent of your own enthusiasm you have presented us with a new game. My hearty thanks for it. I am myself exceedingly fortunate in being so much at one with the children, and so at home with them that my mind is as readily set in motion by them as one of their own wooden toy rollers. A large majority of our games I have created, just as they are, simply by watching children at play, and then re-casting their games in the spirit of my whole system. Thus, quite lately, I have prepared a limping-game, because I see my boys are always limping and hopping. I have also taken your idea of a clucking-hen, or hen-and-chickens, as the basis of a game which I will send you for trial.

I am also very grateful to you for the remarks of your dear little ones about rosebuds and green leaves. I shall make use of them in a game of flowers. We must have several such games for our summer walks, some to be played with real flowers, some as action-games where the children impersonate various flowers and plants.

The object of such games will be readily apprehended by you. It is to draw the children to the observation of natural phenomena, and at the same time to sympathy with the pure, eternal, unresting, ever peaceful, helpful life of nature; and to reproduce like things in their own lives on the higher plane of consciousness and union-with-God. I like the German word *Gottseinigkeit*, "union-with-God," better than the foreign word *Religion*, or religiousness, which, according to the real meaning of the word, is no longer satisfactory to me now that Jesus has appeared and worked in the world.¹

Now I hope I have fully answered your last letter (or rather

¹ *Religio* (the Latin whence comes the French word *religion*) is thought to come from *religare*, "to bind," as if it were the force of duty or conscience, binding us to God and the divine life. Such an idea, Froebel means, seems more applicable to the Old Testament dispensation, of Law, than to the New, of Love.

your last but one) from memory. But even as I thus write, another remark of yours, as to the music of our little songs, occurs to me. You are quite right; we ought to try and attain a somewhat higher level in that department. Our little songs are very often learnt from mothers and children, and our aim in constructing them is that the representation of the game, the words, and the music should all three combine to form a whole, the parts of which mutually strengthen and elucidate each other.

Is there anything more that I could desire in your work, and especially in your method of dealing with the system? On the contrary, it is, in its present stage, and particularly in the way it develops itself, just as I would have it, precisely after my own heart; for I delight in quiet, simple, steady, self-developing progress. This is why your mode of life, quiet, unnoticed, retired as it is, according to your own description of it, nay, even almost unknown, so to speak, appears to me so eminently fitted for our purpose. It resembles the violet's life and life-work, which blossoms all concealed, and is only detected and then carefully sought out, when its delicate perfume spreads abroad. However easy-going a man may be, he yet likes those things best which he has sought out with a certain amount of personal exertion, and has made his own. Oh, I beg you, do not be anxious, and least of all with regard to me. By your work and the way you accomplish it, you are fulfilling, if you will let me say so once for all, the closest, dearest, and sweetest wish of my heart. You give me, as you give your little ones, joy, peace, calm; and my foundations become more stable by your help.

I am delighted over and above all this, to learn that you find your operations steadily winning confidence amongst those who have come to know of them. Call on me for anything that I can do to help, so that we may cherish this growing confidence and promote it together. I was greatly pleased to know that several ladies are sharing in your work; it seems impossible now that your hopes and anticipations should lack fulfilment.

Your pretty and amusing game with the "Little Blue-mantle" (little Iduna) has introduced a very poetical element into our games, and it ought to prove, as I think, a valuable and fruitful contribution.

But encourage your little girls to be always observing, and then to think over what they have observed, for this alone promotes genuinely original action. I have carefully watched some of our little ones who behave in a like manner; and I have observed how rapidly their lips move as they talk to themselves about anything that has strongly impressed them.

A little boy showed me lately how important it is to accompany building games with speech or song: for, having built something by himself, he turned to me and said, "Now, tell me something about it!"

The affection of your wayward Adèle delighted me much. The contest amongst the children for the best place and the first greeting is always very enjoyable; but we must be careful that no one feels himself overlooked.

Sincerest good wishes to all your dear ones,

From your grateful Cousin,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER IX.

Blankenburg, 21st March, 1841.

MUCH-ESTEEMED AND DEAR COUSIN,—

At last I am able to reply to your kind letter of the 7th inst.

Permit me to answer you clause by clause.

1. "Often and often," so you say, "passages which I read in the *Sunday Journal* evoke from the depths of my inner consciousness like thoughts which I have originated for myself, and like experiences which I have gone through in my own life, until I grow quite astonished and puzzled." What you thus confide to me relates to one part of the sweetest, best and purest fruit of my life; one part, namely, of what I mean to do, or have already accomplished (through my children's games and occupations) towards clearing a pathway through the tangles of human life. I am endeavouring to bring man, through the knowledge of his own inner feelings and the experiences of his own life, to a forefeeling, a perception, and finally a clear consciousness, of this great fact—that for all the important needs of life, and for

the deepest conceptions which govern life, there exist universally applicable life-experiences and examples, which are found to be repeated in the case of every man who examines the development of his own career with careful scrutiny, and endeavours to bring himself to a consciousness of its meaning.

The observation of this fact should annihilate the feeling of the separateness of the individual in life, which is the death of all true life ; and should permit men to regard themselves as members of our common humanity, uniting together to form one great whole, should enable them to feel and know themselves as such, and to act out and live up to this idea. To acquire this conception is to acquire the highest good for humanity at large, as well as for the separate individuals which compose it. Regarded thus even for you, dear cousin, the true spirit, the genuine life, and especially the lofty aim, of my games and occupations, becomes ever more and more clear and manifest. But you must also perceive, dear cousin, that you yourself fulfil the one needful condition towards understanding me—you have a soul ready to believe, to trust, and to make sacrifices. Such a soul creates all that is lovely, great, good, true, and noble in life—belief, trust, and self-sacrifice in and for the wellspring and unity of life; whether the whole body of life, humanity, or its separate existence amongst individual men, or lastly in the child, who as yet reposes in life's slumber, a living member of a living whole. This triple and yet single belief I desire to awake right early in man, in the child, by the careful tendance of childhood ; to cherish it, arouse it, and stimulate it to worthy actions.

2. I have been much pleased with what you say about Lange-thal's essay upon the text, in his own words, "Our little ones carry about the living God in their hearts," as to the suitable religious training of the smaller girls by means of learning little hymns. You choose hymns which treat of such subjects as are familiar to the children, and occur in their everyday life, and you think thereby to win children to observe, acknowledge, and realize spiritual things. How true and again how beautiful is all this on your part ! Once more we find ourselves thinking precisely alike, as to the way we would treat the education of chil-

dren. Humanity is a beautiful thing in its unity ; in its collective and its individual aspect too. Each man sees himself improved in his fellow-man, and in his race ; and yet each is self-sustained and self-originating, free within himself.

3. You tell me that the "Marching Song" and the song of "The Ball and the Pigeon" are favourites with the children : but they have sprung from the life of the children themselves ; nay, the marching song is nothing else but the children's life.

4. In speaking of the song

" My little ball is well-behaved,
And so's my little child,"

what you tell me about your merry Adèle is delightful. This experience, and your kindness in communicating it, belong to the finest blossoms and fruitage of my life-work. It proves for me, moreover, that truth which so deeply affects the education of man, that we arrive at the knowledge of the true and the right by the comparison of exact opposites of like kind.¹ It never has so good an effect to show a little child his own image mirrored in other human beings, in other persons, as to let him perceive himself and his life symbolised and set forth in inanimate and impersonal things. In the first case the human mind has to meet a thousand distracting and narrowing elements of personality, whilst in the second the thing, the fact, to which his attention is called, tells its tale without interruption. With the fact he

¹ An example will show Froebel's meaning clearer to those who are not familiar with this method of philosophical inquiry, almost invariably resorted to by him in his educational researches. An *antithesis* of like kind is found to a given *thesis*, and from the union of these opposites springs a new truth, by *synthesis*. Thus, if we take the geometrical form of a sphere of even curvature and extreme mobility, and find the opposites of these qualities in another geometrical form, the cube, we arrive at a third and distinct form, viz., the cylinder, through the union of this pair of opposites. The point of likeness between the two opposites—the living child and the lifeless ball—is that both are easy to set in motion ; the distinctive character of both may indeed be said to be mobility. Thesis, a moving child ; antithesis, a moving ball ; resulting synthesis, the idea of motion. It is easier for the child to apprehend the fact of motion by the comparison of such total opposites as an animated being and an inanimate thing, which are alike only in this one point, that both are in motion, than by comparing himself with other children in motion, who present a thousand forms of similarity.

approaches also the unchangeable, everlasting, self-centred law of that fact, which works irresistibly upon mankind like fate or destiny. I believe that in this way man may become rich in all experience of good ; of evil also, and that without losing his innocence. To acquire this power of education for mankind, especially for his early childhood, is my aim ; and I believe it is the true aim of all mankind also. I believe that this method of directing a child's attention to himself and teaching him to observe carefully his own actions is the method freest from danger.

5. The representation of facts and circumstances of history, of geography, and especially of everyday life, by means of building with the bricks contained in my boxes of "gifts," I hold to be in the highest degree important for children, even if these representations are imperfect and fall far short of their originals. The eye is at all events aroused and stimulated to observe with greater precision than before the object that has been represented, when next it actually comes before the child in nature or in life. And thus, by means of perhaps a quite imperfect outward representation, the inner perception is made more perfect. I rejoice beyond measure in the fact that everything in the life of the children turns out exactly as my mind has anticipated. For all life and all mind is everywhere one and the same in essence.

6. The various means of comprehension afforded by forms and by modes of representation, especially by building, as pursued by boys and girls of the same age and the same average general development, soon claim the teacher's attention. The children quickly discover their favourite forms. To avoid any onesided development through this, it is a good plan to take the forms which the separate children have individually discovered, each for himself, and then set all the class to work them out together.

As for the difference in character between the building forms invented by boys and by girls, I have frequently observed amongst my own class of children that the girls invent lighter and more interesting forms, more nearly adapted to the ordinary requirements of life, and at the same time much prettier. The girls are usually more persevering, too, than the boys.

Here in Rudolstadt we have a few children who are quite

unusually gifted in invention. Personal talents and degrees of individual development are often extremely unlike in different children.

7. You express a desire to introduce our games into many family circles. If there is any member of the family who takes a prominent interest in the children's doings this would certainly be of great usefulness. A few families in Rudolstadt already use the games, and in these cases the mothers are the leaders.

8. It has occurred to me that Gera might be a point of union whence the newly-awakening need of the other towns in Reuss and the neighbouring country might be supplied. The only thing would be to find a tradesman who would keep the materials for my games and occupations always in stock.

I am firmly convinced that my several undertakings, if grouped together, would not only become well grounded, but would strike firm root and endure, if I could but give the separate bodies of sympathisers a more closely connected form, and could extend the range of the whole operations to the scale demanded for their full development. Yet no! I thrust this conviction, with the wishes it inspires, back into my inmost soul, and content myself with far more modest results, such as that obtained in so important a degree through your enthusiastic kindness. May not the slightest breath of unavailing desire on my part nip in the bud, as it were with one of the frosts of early spring, the tender plant which is so dear to us!

9. But setting all the above on one side, let me urge one more request, dear cousin. After you have shown the results of your Kindergarten work to the parents of the children forming your class, could you not induce one of these gentlemen to write an account of it for a public journal, say the *General Intelligencer*? I think we are bound to assist the sympathy which now manifests itself towards the earliest years of childhood by publicly bringing before it the results we have obtained through our newly organised child-culture and our series of occupations. Anything I could do in this regard would have too little authority and weight.

10. That you, dear cousin, find happiness in your voluntary,

unselfish labours, and are able to make your beloved and unusually gifted family share in that happiness, is a source of great gratification to me. My undertakings must not be allowed to bring discord into any one single bosom. But it is not so, for our children carry happiness with them into their families from our Kindergarten; we can show many examples of this.

11. The experience of the awakening and ennobling effect of singing upon the children, even upon the youngest of them, is universal in our Kindergarten.

12. I have often observed what you say of the almost magic effects obtainable by ball-games, especially with sickly, rather stupid children, who remain uninterested for a length of time together. At last you see pleasure rise, as if from a deep grave, and smiles spread over their face, and their little arms seem to acquire life for the first time. Something of this sort must have been actually seen before the seemingly incredible value theoretically claimed for these occupations of children can be really acknowledged, and their conformity with nature, their suitability, yes, and I will add their beneficent and elevating character, properly appreciated.

13. Many thanks for your remark about the boy "who quietly let his eye travel from the ball, hanging at the end of its cord, up to the hand which held that cord, and which held the ball too by means of it."¹ With your kind permission I shall make use of this observation, and of several others of yours, full of living force and penetration, for my *Sunday Journal*. I am convinced, and I wish all teachers and especially all mothers shared in the conviction, that the very earliest phenomena of child-life are full of symbolic meaning, that is to say, they indicate the higher, the intellectual, life in the child and his individual peculiarities at the same time; as in the case above mentioned. Our duty is to search in everything for its ultimate basis, its point of origin, its well-spring; and to make clear the connection between the outward manifestation and its inward cause.

¹ The little fellow had discovered for himself that objects fall when unsupported; and the interest in the above lies in the fact that he had sought out, unaided, the cause of an apparently unsupported ball not falling.

14. Also what you have observed as to the value of these games in familiarising the children with Nature, is very just. (And they are none the less stimulating and educational on the moral and religious sides.) I should like to have a talk with the principals of your school, especially with Pastor Lang, and with yourself, about this point. The nature of our games calls out the children's powers of perception and observation ; powers which I hold to be of the highest importance for childhood, as they are for human life in general. In nature and in life, especially in the latter, there is no repose. All repose is such in appearance only. Therefore, to penetrate to the real essence and useful power of things, we must observe and understand them when in motion. So with the science of numbers ; so also with language, when the children put words together for themselves, and thus represent all things in a new light.¹

15. As to your work in general, you are too modest when you call it "extremely imperfect." I feel sure, on the contrary, that a Kindergarten directed by your womanly motherly tact and nice appreciation, must be far prettier and more interesting than anything we can show. I should be glad to learn of you in all earnestness.

16. The observation made by yourself and your friend that the children's games may very easily be converted to drawing-room amusements is well founded. We have in Leipzig, and here also, enlivened many happy evening meetings in this way. For instance, we let the ball travel from hand to hand of the company as they sit round the table, and each member is bound to say something about the ball or by means of the ball, which then must be set to music either by himself or another, and sung. In the same way ball-games may be introduced very prettily amongst grown-up people ; for instance, the game

"Dear little ball,
Now rise, now fall," etc.,

¹ Froebel appears to mean that this is one reason why the games, which represent facts of life and nature by the movements of the children, are of such great educational value.

is extremely pretty when all the balls are seen springing into the air at once.

17. I also let my children choose their balls with regard to their colour. It is remarkable how many children have some particular pet colour, as blue, or red, etc. I have often remarked with girls, that they choose the colours which preponderate in their dress. It is not at all indifferent to children what ball they play with; on the contrary, if they let the ball drop, they seek to recover their own ball again. I might almost say that their ball soon grows into a part of their life.

18. Do not make yourself so uneasy with the foreboding that I over-rate your work, viewing it from a distance, and hence, that I should be disappointed if I were to see it on the spot. Although I live so much for form, and amongst forms, it is not the forms themselves which bind me, in the least; it is the mind that speaks through those forms, whence it comes that the most imperfect outward representation arising from a lofty inner conception is more to me than the most perfect representation of a lower conception. And it is the sense of unity, the spirituality of life, the pure childlike womanly soul pervading your work which bind me, or rather, which draw me irresistibly toward it, like the sense of unity and the other qualities I have named, bind me to the ball-games which possess them. I only hope that the people of Gera will appreciate your self-sacrificing labours as fully and as gratefully as in the truest sense of the word my own soul does appreciate them; indeed, that were to heap manifold rewards upon myself, for then should I feel assured of one spot at least in Germany where the endeavour of my life had struck firm root and would bud, bloom and bear fruit in due time. God grant it may be so!

You are right; the foundation of the national German Kindergarten would delight me above all things; because I long for the most perfect possible representation of my conception. And towards this many things may soon be shaping themselves, perhaps.

Quite recently I have received several new subscriptions, the most interesting one having come from Paris, but a few days

since. I had made use of a suitable opportunity which offered itself to send a copy of my description of the festival of 28th June,¹ 1840, together with a letter of explanation, to the Duchess Helena of Orleans.² I had almost forgotten all about this letter when a few days since I received a letter from the Tuileries, from the Duchess's secretary, in which she had commanded me to be informed of the interest with which she had perused my communication, and the good wishes she felt towards my success, willingly taking part in the foundation of the National Kindergarten, and sending me her subscription for two shares.

Ought not such examples to have influence with other great ladies, inducing them to join our movement; such as those who visited you, the Princess of Ebersdorf, and the Countess of Cöstritz?

Shall I send you some numbers of the *Journal* for them? Or shall I address myself directly to these ladies?

19. It is to be hoped that one of the three gentlemen who are of so much service to you will be able to find time to give an account of the work carried on at Gera, in one of the newspapers. It would materially assist in awakening and in strengthening the belief in the goodness and practicability of the system, if a well-written account of the results of its three months' trial amongst you were to appear. I say this somewhat timidly, my dear cousin, to you who cherish the whole idea with such a deep motherly fondness, lest it should be with me as with the dog in the fable, who snapped at the shadow, and let fall the substance; but beyond the silent-speaking deed, beyond the living outspoken word of mouth, God has given us also writing and

¹ The 400th anniversary of the invention of printing. See Letters I. and II. The festival was held first at Keilhau and then at Blankenburg, the latter on the date mentioned, the 28th; and celebrated, as the title of the pamphlet informs us, four different things—the invention of printing, St. John's Day, the birthday of several of the associates of Froebel, and the foundation of the Kindergarten.

² At this time Louis Philippe (of the house of Orleans) was King of France (1830–1848), the Tuileries—now no more, having been destroyed in the troubles of 1871—was his palace at Paris: the Duchess Helena was the wife of his eldest son, the heir presumptive. She was by birth a princess of Mecklenburg Schwerin. Her son is the present Comte de Paris.

printing, and the issues of the journals, which last seem to me like the breath of spring awakening the leaves and flowers on the trees. And I think that we are bound to use *every* means that God and chance have placed in our hands towards awakening mankind, individually and as an entire race, to a consciousness of the purpose of their existence, though the use of these must be made with due limitations and in closely knit unity of purpose.

When I thus put forth thoughts, in full reliance on your sisterly sympathy, as openly as if I were talking to myself from out the depths of my most secret consciousness, can you still think, dearest cousin, that the work at Gera, full of life as it is, does not satisfy me? Oh, but it does satisfy me. It is, as it were, the healthy, powerful shoot of some germinating seed or acorn, and I cannot but remember that the slightest injury to that tender shoot may interfere with the proper vigorous development of the whole future plant. This germinating seed, planted by your trust and faith, and so carefully and tenderly nourished, is to me the dearest plant on earth of all that I now possess; wherefore it is that I desire it may become inwardly strong with the greatest possible strength, putting forth the loveliest heart-leaves and budding branches, and that I am anxious that we should quietly watch its progress and carefully cherish it. Watchful care for the true life of the children and of their mothers is always the first thing we must have before our eyes; for if there is no inner strength in the movement it can never gain stability; it will put forth no leaf, no blossom.

Everything hinges upon the quiet, watchful care of the well-spring, the source, the point of origin; and upon the intelligent direction of its aim. And this brings me to a point which I should like to consider calmly with you, my truest life-friend and well-wisher to the inmost struggles of my soul: and this matter I will now proceed to communicate to you. Afterwards I should like you to take the opinion of your husband, who works so true-heartedly with you for our cause, as well as the opinions of the other friends, the ladies and gentlemen who join with you in the work.

And first, by way of introduction, a brief account of my own

mental development. Brought up from early childhood, almost as completely separated from the outer world in certain ways as if I had been immured in a cloister, yet within these sharply defined limits wholly given over to the love of Nature, of animal life, and of religion, my earliest development began with the comprehension of my personal life and consciousness; and this comprehension, I might say, I gained by studying my own image as seen in those three mighty mirrors. Even the comprehension of mankind as a vast whole, and a glimmering consciousness of the great spiritual life of that whole, dawned upon my soul. I can describe it in no other way than by saying that in my later childhood, and at my entrance into boyhood, I often felt as if my mind were a smooth still pool, scarce a handbreath over, or even a single water-drop, in which surrounding things are clearly mirrored, while the blue vault of the sky is seen as well, reaching far away and above.

Thus I proceeded along a path of mental development peculiar to myself, which led me at ten years old, away from my father's house,¹ more into contact with the outer world, and more than ever desirous of comprehending it. Yet I still held fast to the consciousness that had already sprung up within me, of an existence in common with Nature, with humanity, with religion. Nature, humanity, religion, that means God! Whilst truly maintaining my inner individuality, I pushed my studies ever forward in things external to myself, till finally my desire came to be that I might touch the whole body of human knowledge and experience. To gain a position where I could work towards this end now stood as my highest aim, and in the years 1814 to 1816 I found myself at Berlin, on the threshold of such a position, which was almost in my grasp.² But standing close to this sphere of work as I did, I saw that it did not meet the wants of my soul: instead of unifica-

¹ In 1792 Froebel went to his uncle Hoffmann at Stadt Ilm. The peculiar childhood of Froebel is described by himself in detail, and in a most vivid and interesting manner, in his *Autobiography*, translated by the present Editors, (Nonnenschein). For the circumstances referred to above, see pp. 14, 17, etc.

² Froebel is alluding to his assistant-professorship of Mineralogy at the University of Berlin. See Froebel's *Autobiography*, pp. 96 and 121.

tion of spirit and of endeavour I found individual effort ; instead of the production of a whole I found the production of separate portions. I could find no solid conceptions of Life, based upon unity and comprehensiveness, upon the One and the Whole. I heard the same cry from the foremost teachers of the University of Berlin. Therefore I gave up my first idea, and instead of it I set before me as my life-work the perfecting such a conception of Life. I founded an Educational Institution in 1816,¹ whose leading idea was to aim at a preparation for a true University education. In some subjects I succeeded in my aim, but I soon found that my requirements were not sufficiently met by my pupils to enable me to succeed in my whole design. Therefore I now determined first to work exclusively for the provision of a general well-founded education.² My efforts in this direction led me by a quite peculiar path of destiny, yet still keeping the thread of my life unbroken and complete within itself, to Switzerland.

My work there had many sides. The study of early childhood came more before me than it had done in Germany: My duties lay amongst quite young children fresh from Nature. At the same time I had fathers of families, and those who were already teachers, as my scholars. Their experiences were consequently also mine. I learnt from them, and they in turn sought from me the satisfaction of their own needs. I myself was principal of an Orphanage School :³ and thus was carried into the midst of the very earliest years of childhood, with all its special needs and claims, while at the same time I was introduced to the ways and means of satisfying those needs and claims.

The care of earliest childhood next became my exclusive study, and my destiny led me in my researches, though by a hard and sorrowful path, back into Germany again.⁴ Here, in 1836, the ball, the sphere, and the cube, as the earliest toys of childhood, were discovered and worked out, but still in the same remarkable retrograde fashion, from the cube proceeding to the sphere, and from the sphere working back to the ball. That which for twenty-

¹ At Griesheim (Autobiography, page 122). ² At Keilhau (Autob., page 122).

³ At Burgdorf (Autob., pp. 135, 6). ⁴ His wife's illness, etc., (Autob., p. 137)

five years had been floating before me as a nebulous idea arising from study and knowledge, now first came before me as a definite truth, arising from life and through life, and the sun burst forth and day dawned upon me. The sun of life ! It beamed for me upon the life of earliest childhood, cleared all clouds away, and led me on into its very heart.

I soon felt deeply that some important connecting link was imperatively required to prepare the newly awakening life of a child for its later activity with the ball. It was through the ball itself that I discovered and recognised this connecting link : in general terms it may be described as the first development of muscular movement and sensation specially distinguishing infancy. All individual development and culture, as well as all culture of the race, must proceed by a steady logical succession of connecting links. The link between the infant, still an undivided self-sufficient whole of peaceful life, and the ball, which is something external given to him to play with, lies in the child's own limbs, the child's own senses ; and the first toys and occupations of the child come from himself ; he plays with his own limbs, and uses them as the material for representing his ideas.

This spontaneous activity of limb and vividness of sensation natural to infancy, and I may say inseparable from it, must also be carefully studied ; for a considerable degree of cultivation of these powers is already necessary in the use and application of the ball, sphere, and cube. In ordinary nursery practice something of this was already to be found ; but it was not consciously adhered to, nor pursued with recognition of its purpose. The cause lay in the absence and want of an earlier and distinct means of training ; namely, the watchful care which fills the mother's life and mother's mind, developed and elevated into a conscious aim.

You must know, my dear cousin, that I have a sure conviction that the reason is that we do not make quick progress with our good cause, even though it is so well appreciated on every side girls (and even grown women) are far too little conscious of their true womanly feelings and the claims that these have upon their attention, and that women and mothers do not recognise their own motherly yearnings and responsibilities. I would gladly re-

move this want. I desire to supply the missing educational method by means of which the womanly life may be stimulated to self-consciousness in girls; yes, and even the longing for the vocation of a mother, or at least, a deep respect and recognition of that sacred vocation, may be awakened in girls who have the charge of children. And at the same time I should bring to a clear self-knowledge and a distinct consciousness the motherly, womanly feelings and responsibilities in the mothers themselves, and in grown-up women. For indeed, whatever in man is *not* brought into full consciousness, amongst those things which he is, which he possesses, and which he does—that, if we are to speak in the full sense of the word “man,” he neither truly is, possesses, nor does.

To help the child to use his own body, his limbs, and his sensations, and to assist mothers and those who take the place of mothers to the consciousness of their duties towards the children and to a lofty conception of those duties, I have carefully preserved several little songs and games as they have occurred to me in the course of my life; and have given them the name of—

“*Little Nursery Songs (Koseliedchen) and Games
to train the body, the limbs, and the senses,
for quite little children.*”¹

I send this collection to you, for your severe criticism. You, best of all, from the rich treasure of your experience as a mother, can pronounce whether I have or have not hit the mark at which I have aimed. Strike out ruthlessly all that seems to you unsuitable. And if you could give the little songs to mothers who have quite little children, so that they may test them thoroughly, or if you are able yourself thus to try them, I should be above all things delighted.

The motion of the fingers and the hands is quite clearly indi-

¹ “*Kosen*” is an untranslatable word. The fond prattling of a mother with her infant, made up of “little language” intermingled with caresses, is expressed by it. “*Koseliedchen*” are therefore something more than Nursery Songs.

cated by the contents of the songs, and I can give you further details later on.¹

It would delight me greatly if you would confide to me what you remember of your feelings, perceptions and ideas as a mother greeting the new-born life of her infant, and your observations of the first movements of its limbs, and the beginning of the development of its senses. It would certainly be of practical utility, and of permanent blessing for the race of man, which is perpetually renewing itself, if girls, women and mothers could behold, imaged in a kindly but absolutely clear mirror the self-developing, womanly, budding, motherly sentiments which sway them, regarded especially with a view to the children's welfare, so that they might carefully cherish and enlarge the dimly felt yearnings, feelings, and thoughts which arise within them in regard to the world of children. Such a mirror do I reckon "Emil's Cradle Song," for instance (*Sunday Journal*, No. 1); and also "Mother's Joys," in No. 3, and "First Pleasures of the Mother," recently printed.

A collection of such Mothers' Songs, which should precede the "Little Nursery Songs and Games," might, perhaps, bear the name of "Songs of Consecration," *i.e.*, of dedication to watchful care over early childhood.²

I have laid before you the first completed idea, that of the little Nursery Songs and Games for the development of the limbs and senses, that you may test its worth; and I now also lay before you the entire conception in its full extent, with the same object in view. If we find it impossible to awake the womanly, motherly instinctive perception of the supreme importance of the

¹ This collection of "*Koseliedchen*" developed into the famous "*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*," sometimes translated "Mothers' Songs and Games," perhaps better rendered by "Songs for Mothers, and Nursery Songs," the first part of the book representing the feelings of Mother (*Mutterlieder*), the second containing Nursery Songs (*Koselieder*) for her to sing to her child, and these latter are accompanied in every case by suitable movements illustrating the songs, and at the same time developing the child's power of muscular action. The English translation most in use is that by the Misses Lord, "Mothers' Songs, Games, and Stories" (Rice, Fleet Street).

² This idea was actually carried out, as sketched in the preceding note.

welfare of the human race, and of the care for this, and if we fail to raise this instinct fully into consciousness, we shall never advance with the true care of children and with the true education of man.

I trust you may be able to understand this, for I have written it under many distractions and interruptions, and I fear it is in many places almost unintelligible.

I believe, dearest cousin, that after progressing through the vast orbit of almost two generations,¹ I have been carried round to the point of commencement, to the fountain-head of the education of mankind, but with the significant addition of a full consciousness of my task.

Only now that the whole body of human education lies before me do I feel myself competent to become a really worthy educator of men, and particularly of children; especially also now that the womanly soul and the womanly life stand as assistants by my side, and in particular that you yourself, with your usual kindness, enlighten and encourage me with outstretched hand.

I believe that a sort of semi-omnipotence becomes attainable in the course of time by two human beings fully at one in spirit, completely conscious of being so, and united in the pursuit of a noble object.

Monday, 21st March. Please receive, besides the "Nursery Songs" spoken of above, some building songs and two flower-games. In the first of these latter, "the flower-garden," the child chosen to represent a given flower may mention some peculiarity of that flower, and thus it will become apparent what the child loves best, or what strikes him most.

Do not be alarmed, dear cousin, at the volume of my communications; I will now leave you leisure for reading. I already rejoice in the prospect of receiving your next letters; they are the sweetest flowers the spring can bring me.

My heartiest greetings to all the good helpers in your work,

¹ Froebel was nearly fifty-nine at this time (born April, 1782); and regarding thirty as the duration of a generation, he might fairly speak of himself as having lived through two generations.

both ladies and gentlemen, and especially to my much-honoured cousin, your husband, and to your two dear boys.

With unchanging truest thankfulness,

Your Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER X.

Blankenburg, 4th April, 1841.

DEAREST AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

I hope you will forgive me for profiting by an opportunity of again addressing you. Our dear pupil K. W. is on a holiday trip with two student friends to visit his mother. I embrace the occasion, and send you and your dear ones my most heartfelt good wishes by them; and I would beg of you to allow the young folks to be present at one of your beautiful Kindergarten games.

I have received much pleasure these last few days in hearing all that is good and kind about your Kindergarten class from every one who has seen the games played. Amongst other things, they tell me, dear cousin, that you are evidently born for some such sphere of work. This, indeed, I already knew; but it is always gladdening when such observations are repeated by others, showing that such self-sacrificing work as yours is acknowledged at its proper worth.

By this same conveyance I send you the continuation of the *Sunday Journal*. I shall be very glad if any one of you finds pleasure in the explanation of the Fifth Gift; but in any case I would beg you to send me your observations on this work, as occasion offers, so that later on I may make use of them.

I have good news for you as to the progress of our undertaking. The Prince and Princess of Sondershausen have decided to found a Kindergarten in their principality; and are about to send me a young man full of desire for training children, that I may educate him into fitness for the establishment of such an institution. It appears as if the scheme were understood there with as deep earnestness as eager enthusiasm. If only we could once succeed in winning over a princely family to a true feeling for the

cause, in inward meaning as well as outward manifestation ! Or, better still, if one could only carry the scheme really into the heart of a group of citizens and families !

The wife of Pastor Richter, of Leipzig, is coming here about the middle of May for a few weeks, in order to make herself acquainted with our games and the way we play them. After so much sympathy shown on every side I can but trust that interest in the movement will so grow in Gera as to warrant soon the establishment of a complete Kindergarten after the plan of the "German National Kindergarten." The directors of the Girls' Public Schools ought to be standing by your side, much respected cousin, united with you, founding, leading onward and guiding the beautiful work ; and with their co-operation, blessings would be sure to fall upon the institution.

Yet, dear cousin, I am always sorry when I have been impelled to speak out in this way under uncontrollable impulse, lest it should leave the unfortunate impression that I am not penetrated to my very inmost soul with care, appreciation, and thankful devotion for what has actually been done up to the present. Oh, but I am deeply, fervently thankful for all the existing work, and I wish for nothing more than a quiet, silent, steady progress and development of it all.

To-morrow C. Schneider celebrates a little festival with some of our games in Frankfurt, at the close of the winter half-year of his Kindergarten ; but I can only appear at it by letter.

Cordial good wishes to all, and best hopes for an enjoyable holiday-time, from

Your affectionate Friend and Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER XI.

Blankenburg, 18th April, 1841.

MY KIND DEAR COUSIN,—

Your last letter has brought me much true pleasure in several ways. First, I was gladly and truly surprised to hear that your dear Robert is already so far grown up as to be able, on this occasion of the beautiful festival of peace and resurrection, to

enter with full consciousness of its meaning upon the most gladdening bond of our life.¹ I take the warmest interest in this joyful event in your family, so respected and loved by me.

Permit me to unite to your own hopes my earnest wishes for his welfare, his future work and the fruitfulness thereof; may he always, in whatever may eventually prove to be his vocation, work for the blessing of mankind like his parents, whom he doubtless honours as he has reason to do, and especially like his mother, dear to him above all others.

Greet my dear cousin from me, in fullest sympathy. I hope my earnest good wishes may have some value for him, even though the sacred festival has so long passed.

Together with this good news you send me the joyful intelligence that your beloved Kindergarten will be continued during this coming summer. What gladder news could you have sent me? It is indeed true that I have never contemplated the opposite alternative—that it might cease. But now that this occurs to my mind I can see what an inexpressible loss I should have suffered by such a fatal piece of news.

I will also acknowledge, what you in your modesty are always reminding me of, that the general effect of the whole work is wanting in completeness with you, much as we rejoice over your Kindergarten; but nevertheless I hold your work and your Kindergarten as of far higher importance than my own here in Blankenburg, for yours is under the guidance of a mother's spirit, deeply penetrated with the truth of the whole system, and working at the same time in fullest understanding with the intelligence and insight of male friends and of fathers of families.

In all this I am not saying either to you or to the whole community anything either merely flattering or agreeable; it is the simple truth. Such a concurrence of fortunate relations as those under which the Kindergarten in Gera develops blossoms and bears fruit by the labours of yourself and all those working with you; such unanimity and unity of purpose is very seldom found.

¹ Evidently alluding to Robert's confirmation, Easter being the usual time for that rite of the Lutheran Protestant Church in Germany.

It therefore becomes my glad duty to cherish this work most carefully, and raise it into a normal or model Kindergarten for Germany, seeing that it carries within itself all the conditions necessary for such an undertaking. I shall do all that lies within me to achieve this result, and fulfil my duty towards you all, and towards the parents, who, in your town, put such trust in you.

Consequently it is with very great pleasure that I see a prospect of being able to pay a visit to Gera within a fortnight. This chance is so much the more appreciated by me, in that you meet me with such heartfelt friendliness of greeting and such pressing invitation. As soon as I can fix upon the day I will let you know, for I should very much like to be able to meet those gentlemen who have worked so well with you.

Shall you hire a little plot of garden for your children during the summer? This would be of importance, because the children might go and work there. The middle bed should contain the children's own plots; the side beds should be the general garden, common to all, and containing as great a variety of plants as possible, to be cultivated by the common care and interest of all the children.¹

The chief idea is that the special shall be embraced and protected by the general, that rest should be united with motion, the field with the garden, the useful with the delightful, flowers with fruit and vegetables; and further, that these things should be mingled together, so that the child may compare them and gain knowledge by merely looking at them.

My unaltered respect to you all.

Your deeply grateful Cousin,

FR. FR.

¹ Here Froebel inserted a sketch like that in the *Weekly Journal* (*Wochenschrift*), No. 14.

LETTER XII.

Blankenburg, 19th April, 1841.

DEAR KIND COUSIN,—

The gentleman who is good enough to carry this letter for me is Herr Kohl, our loyal colleague in the school at Keilhau, and a great help to us in the Blankenburg Kindergarten, because of his musical ability. I need add no more to ensure him the friendliest welcome in your esteemed household; and indeed I have no doubt that his gentle yet vivacious spirit will of itself strike out the path to your liking.

I am glad, dear cousin, that he will be able to become acquainted with you, and especially to learn to know you in your beautiful work. I know very few to whom I should not grudge this pleasure, withheld from me. But I hope that he will sing you some of the little songs that he has composed, and especially the "Song of Concord" which you might possibly be able to manage with the assistance of the elder girls in your own Institution. It is, indeed, written for a large body of children, and for a Kindergarten already some time established; at least thirty-two persons take part in it. Still, if opportunity offers, he may be able to give you an idea of it, and for thinking people an idea of my whole endeavour shines through it, namely, that the individual ever becomes conscious of its own existence, and self-poised, through contemplation of the general; and then, as a conscious, self-poised personality, works in and for the whole. Perhaps this game may win many families for your Kindergarten.

Also I would ask you to be so kind as to introduce Herr Kohl to the gentlemen who help you.

In your last letter, dear cousin, you spoke so thoughtfully of the daisy, which is also my favourite flower, and our "family flower," if I may so say, that I determined to send you the "Daisy Game." Herr Kohl will give you the music for it. Also I send you Arndt's poem, "The Mary-Flowers" (Daisies); and with them please receive a parable which that poem has brought to my mind. It may perhaps give you pleasure to read this to the elder girls of your institution. It brings nature nearer to us in all her

simplicity; and perhaps you will recognise therein the message of my life and my soul to all thoughtful children, to youths, and above all to maidens.

But it is time to close this letter; for verbal communication is better than writing at the present time.

With heartiest greetings to you all,

Your Cousin,

FR. FR.

P.S.—It is thirty-eight years in these very days since I first had the pleasure of seeing you.

LETTER XIII.

Blankenburg, 5th June, 1841.

DEAR AND MUCH-LOVED COUSIN,—

If I were not so firmly assured that you cannot doubt the good faith of your cousin, I should have good cause to fear lest you should misunderstand my unusually long silence. But I trust that in your good nature you may merely have said to yourself, "I wonder what makes my cousin so long refrain from sending me those long letters in which he used to take such interest? Is it from ill-health, or from the many claims and the great pressure on his life?" Thank Heaven, it is not from the first, but solely from the last. Through a variety of concurrent circumstances these last few weeks, from the end of April till now, have brought with them such dire confusion into my life, that I should have been quite unhappy both in soul and spirit had I not held fast, and made up my mind steadily to work hard until my troubles died a natural death.

It would be only reasonable that I should give you a list of these interruptions, but there have been so many of them that one has driven the other out of my memory. Some, however, I must mention, because they have had results which have lasted even till now. The most important is that the lady who, up to the present time has been at the head of my small household, my faithful niece,¹ has been called home to lend assistance to her

¹ Not really his niece (that is, his brother's daughter), though he calls her "*Nichte*," but a more distant relation.

sister-in-law in her household duties, whereby my usual habits have all been thrown into disorder. It is so hard to find a woman who, to the proper feeling for order and cleanliness, unites a certain degree of culture, and at the same time is simple in her life and in the claims which life brings upon us. And as I was spoiled by my dear wife in her life-time as regards all these matters of the household, I have hitherto been unable to bring myself to the point of seeking for a suitable housekeeper, although my present arrangements bring endless distractions. A little girl of eleven looks after the small matters in the rooms and about the house; her mother, my landlady, sees to the more important things. For dinner I go to a tavern, about a quarter of an hour away from home, where, unfortunately, they are not altogether punctual. Dinner almost always takes an hour and a half out of my day in this manner, and how much interruption such a mode of life causes to my work you may readily guess. On the top of all this I have the additional work thrown upon me by the advent of the young teacher from Sondershausen.

Also there are several visitors here, at the baths, to whom, for the sake of my educational projects, I am bound to show attention in many ways. And at Keilhau they also had friends on a visit, which made still further demands upon my time: and then there is my regular work always going on, here and in Rudolstadt, so that you may see, dear cousin, how it comes about that your kind letter has lain so long unanswered. All this time I lived in the fond hope of seeing you, my best of cousins, and all your dear family; intending to pay you a visit during these weeks. The hope has lingered by me week after week, only to receive perpetual disappointments. What more remains to say, than that I long with all my heart to see the dear children you have gathered round you, and to see you, dear cousin, with your respected colleagues, at your work in the midst of them.

I am bound only too fast by ties and engagements which I dare not set aside, because of the claims of my educational movement upon me. But I hope that without being able to promise long beforehand I may in some unexpected way suddenly find myself able to snatch a visit to you; for my spirit and my soul un-

ceasingly drive me towards you, and even my devotion to my educational work demands that I should see you. I know no one who assists in that work with such self-sacrifice and such helpful activity as yourself. He who sees his dearest project so faithfully cared for as mine is by you—how could he but earnestly desire to meet you face to face and to clasp your hand with gratitude?

What great pleasure you gave me with the prettily arranged bouquets of your dear little ones! I wish I could have sent you in return one of the many wonderfully beautiful garlands which I so often receive in this rich flower-month from my own beloved little children. I should have liked to send you a close-woven wreath of forget-me-nots which I had; or we might have made little bouquets out of it for all your dear little children; for this one was so thick and full that it kept itself fresh through its own moisture and with the help of a shower or so, and bloomed for an extraordinarily long time. By way of thanks for it I have just been able to prepare a pleasant surprise for my little ones. Madame von M——,¹ who was here two years ago, and still remembers our children with affection, sent me a dozen aprons and a dozen neck scarves for distribution amongst our dear little ones: these things she had had sewn for us in her knitting school. So on the Saturday before Whit-Sunday we shared them out, and I had the great pleasure of seeing the joyous children decked out in their aprons and scarves for the pleasant Whitsuntide festival, and of receiving their thanks and handshakings.

Already during the winter had some ladies sent me several dozen stockings for the dear children, knitted by them in thankful remembrance of hours pleasantly spent in the Kindergarten here. So you see, dear cousin, people make me rich, and enable me to bring joy to the children and to their families in quite another way from that which I strike out for myself.

I know that my pleasures, that all our pleasures, are mirrored in your responsive soul, which is the reason I tell you all these things.

¹ Not Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow, as might perhaps be assumed.

From Debreczin, in Hungary, a mother writes to me begging for an account of my occupations for children.

In Rudolstadt two ladies have granted part of their hill-garden to the Kindergarten, and we can now arrange our garden beds in the same manner as yours.¹

Madame R—— will come here on the 12th inst. If only she were not so weakly in health, I would ask her to unite her life-work with my own. I greatly need a fellow-worker in the same spirit; one who would cherish and support my plans. For two years I have bitterly felt what it means to lose one's wife.

My warmest greetings to all your dear ones. With love, faithfulness, and thanks,

Your Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER XIV.

Blankenburg, 9th Dec., 1842.

DEAR KIND COUSIN,—

I am extremely glad that you have sent me word of the cause of your now frequent long silences. I will frankly admit that I could not at all understand it, although I was unwilling to think that it arose from any lessening of the most friendly feelings you have for me; therefore it is gratifying to have the real cause explained.

I think that the invisible nearness, in the spirit, of the life of friends and associates works for good upon our own life now present before us; and therefore I beg you to bring near me, my life and work, the presence of your own, as often as your serious duties of life may permit. The belief alone, and still more the knowledge, of the spiritual nearness of such sharers in our life strengthens the soul.

My answer to your kind letter follows:—

I am glad that you have understood and will endeavour to carry out my wish, dear cousin; to find a place for “a well-educated girl of my teaching, who wishes to enter an honourable

¹ See Letter XI. (at the end).

and liberal-minded family in which the work would not be too hard for her, and where she could put to the test my principles and her own, and win honour for the system we advocate." Since writing to you I have found a most honourable lady in Rudolstadt who is prepared to give what I am asking for one of those trained pupils of mine. The girl in question is a strong healthy young woman, and has made a successful beginning in the much-respected and honourable household which she has entered, which is a very mirror for woman's work. You can therefore recommend these pupils of mine, dear cousin, when an opportunity offers, with complete confidence.

You must not take it amiss that I wrote so definitely in reply to your simple questions as to the education a young girl should possess if she were about to be trained by me—but that, once for all, is my way. I always take up a matter heart and soul, and fix my eye steadily upon the proposed end in view; if the whole thing collapses like a soap bubble it matters not to me, I have enjoyed the beautiful sphere and the magnificent play of colour, and at the very least I have had the spectacle of a clear presentation of a life unity complete within itself. I have, at any rate, had a vision of what might be accomplished, fulfilled, and attained (subject to the ruling of circumstances, of course), if only men mutually understood one another, and cared more for the common interests of all—and this is enough for me. If I have the assurance of being right in my judgment, that under the given conditions success is possible, I am content that the development and the outcome shall depend on destiny and the will of God; and I refrain from pushing my anxiety into the far-off future.

But do not think that phenomena which vanish into nothingness are really without result; they are like the day flies, who at the least show what warm, growing weather we have. Wherefore the smallest and least important of life's phenomena, if carefully treasured, will by-and-by bask in the full spring sunshine which enfolds all things.

You write to me, "Could I only send you for this work of ours a girl endowed with every capacity, and in whose ability I had complete confidence!" Such girls are pearls—let us seek dili-

gently for them. But yet it remains a remarkable fact that many mothers of the middle ranks of education set their faces against sending their daughters into training for the educational profession.¹

Illness in Keilhau, and my unceasing work and the training of the young teachers detain me here, so that we have been hindered in getting out our report upon the progress of the scheme for a German National Kindergarten, but we hope certainly to have it all ready by the beginning of the New Year.

Since it gives you pleasure to see the reward of my efforts gradually glimmering into dawn, I will add that a friend who has devoted himself to university work, Herr von Leonhardi, of Heidelberg, has recently written to me that he proposes to found a Kindergarten later on. Herr von Leonhardi has been associated with us since 1838.

Your kind letter says, "How far off is the publishing of 'Songs of Mothers and Nursery Songs' (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*)?" The printing has not yet begun; but this is the least part of the undertaking. The steel engravings and the plate printing are the principal work; and, as to these, twenty-one designs, etched on steel, are ready. By Christmas the engraver hopes to have finished twenty-four plates. I take the freedom of sending you a complete set of the proofs, as far as I have yet received them, but do not forget that they are only rough proofs. It is true that as to the drawing, some of which is still very imperfect, nothing or at all events but little, can be changed; but in the polishing-off the whole plate will gain in clearness. The utmost diligence will now be shown in pushing on with the work, but you know what artists are, and how they refuse to be hurried, and many a day slips by and is lost, that to the layman seems as if it might have well been used in forwarding the book. However, there is no help for all this, but patience. Still we are in hopes that the end of next summer will see us through with the book, whose advancement when it appears will be kindly helped on by the special good

¹ This sentence was misplaced (at the end of the previous paragraph) in the German original.

offices of Herr J. Mayer, the head of the Bibliographical Institution in Hildburghausen. Please make what profitable use you think fit of this intelligence, to help the book. I think no one will regret having purchased it. I hope, indeed, that it will be handed down from mother to children's children as the book of the family.

The "Nursery Songs" (*Kose-Lieder*) are, as you know, to begin the collected edition of my children's games, etc., which I am now about to publish, and they will, as it were, carry the banner for the rest. The ball-games are complete in nearly all their stages, and lie there ready for press. The perfected drafts of other games are also completed, so that all can follow swiftly one after the other; and then, dear cousin, it will be for you to awake amongst the households themselves practical sympathy with these games in all their several grades. From the new year onwards, I shall devote myself with increased power to the working-out and further development of the collected materials before me.

In order that you may see for yourself that the lithographers have finished the drawings for the sixth gift, I send you a proof of them. By the end of January I hope to have the drawings for all the gifts complete for delivery.

Just during this short time, endeavour to keep the interest in the system from cooling, both among yourselves and others. You see for yourself, and you may decisively affirm to others, that I labour unceasingly at perfecting the whole system in all its varied departments, and devote myself with the most complete abandonment to my work; although, and indeed because of this, I have lately been able to spare so little attention for the separate departments.

I may repeat yet once again, that if I could find a young man who would enter with ardour into my ideas, be able to appreciate their meaning, and willing to charge himself with the business details of publication, I would ensure him as reward for his trouble a competency for himself and his entire family (if he should have one), sufficient for all human necessities; and into the bargain, he would enjoy the pure and truly humane family life, which must arise amongst those who embody these educational ideas.

You have delighted Middendorff and me with the kind remembrances of Herr Ribbe. We remember him as a favourite comrade in camp and field. We cordially reciprocate his kind messages, and would gladly hear more particularly what he is doing. Tell him, pray, that although the war is over, the fighting still continues, as far as we are concerned ; but now it is against an invisible enemy that we struggle, still always in defence of the welfare and salvation of the Fatherland, and this time in its upspringing childhood. How glad we should be if he chose to join us in this fight too, as a true-hearted comrade !

Up to now I have been following your kind letter, line by line, to the end. Now I pass on to something new.

I have long felt the necessity for games about colour, but I have never had leisure enough to elaborate a scheme for them. Lately, in a fortunate hour, two such games occurred to my mind, or rather, to be precise, two intermediary games, connecting form and colour, two games of tablet-laying. I enclose them for trial, especially by yourself and your beloved circle. If the games prove to be worth anything they must take definite rank as one department of the whole system of games. Therefore, as soon as you have thoroughly made yourself mistress of the idea which governs them, send me, I pray you, your severest criticism there-upon.

Pure colour games, to carry the training of the sense to a further point, would be by means of discs or circular tablets, differently coloured on their two faces.

Now a few words about the first game. The ground form, from which all is developed, is a square tablet, four times the size of our cube :¹ and this square as the normal form lies at the base of all the following divisions. Imagine eight such squares lying before you, like our eight cubes and eight building blocks. The first square is whole and undivided. The second square is cut vertically parallel to the sides, giving two equal rectangles ; and the remaining squares are also similarly cut into three, four, five,

¹ Froebel's standard cube is one inch on the side (one zoll of the old German measure) and these square tablets were to be two inches on the side ; so that it would take four cubes to completely cover one of them.

six, seven and eight equal rectangles. The eight squares must now be laid before the child, with the parts arranged vertically or horizontally, but always in a straight line, and so as to show a diversity of colours. Next, everything which lends itself to observation must gently and playfully be brought before the child; for instance, "Here is a square uncut; and here is one cut in two; see how one cut gives us two pieces," and so on. All this, not in a rigidly orderly way, but as opportunity and attentiveness permit.

Then come comparisons of the divisions, such as that "two sixths equal one third," etc. This is the quickly tiring and wearying side, the knowledge-acquiring side of the game, and it is understood as a matter of course that it has to be given quite casually, and only as chance may provide suitable openings for it. The arrangement of the pieces the child should decide for himself, which it will please him to do, but some one must stand by and quietly overlook it all.

Next, the separate divisions are used for making beautiful forms, either vertically, horizontally, or even obliquely arranged.

There still remains the change of colours. The colours must make amongst themselves a complete colour-harmony. For instance, red and green (green being made up of the other two primaries, blue and yellow); yellow and violet (violet being composed of blue and red); blue and gold or orange (orange being composed of red and yellow).

You see that the two harmonising colours in each varying combination contain between them all the three primary colours. Now the colours may be grouped in all kinds of ways upon the same ground form, wherein we get true colour-games; and with varied colours one and the same form will assume many varied expressions. The essence of the game lies in each successive alteration of form or arrangement of colours always being evolved as a development from the previously existing given form and colour.

We pass on to enlargement or variation, extension or contraction, and transition from one fundamental difference to another, for example, from the four-sided pattern to the two-sided or three-sided.

All things and everything are allowed; with the one proviso

that the sense of unity is always to be aroused in the child ; or if it is already present, that it is to be further stimulated and brought into consciousness.

I showed this game to a teacher of children, who at once ordered a set as a Christmas present for a little girl. But why did I tell you of this? It would be better to receive your judgment quite unbiassed—and what I have said must only go so far as to show you that the game is worth your investigation.

The second and larger game is based upon the same main features, and also contains the eight squares cut as already described : besides oblique cuts of various slants, from the normal oblique line down to that of the fifth degree. What I call a normal oblique line is the diagonal of a square (45°), the half-oblique line is the diagonal of a rectangle whose base is half its height (that is the rectangle made by cutting a square in half vertically), the quarter-oblique line is in like manner the diagonal of a rectangle whose base is a quarter of its height (that is, a rectangle which is the quarter of a square cut vertically). This game serves also as a transition to the acquaintance with lines of all different directions as we find them in the occupation of "Pricking," and later on in "Drawing:" and is an excellent training for the eye. My dear young cousins can search out for their mother the capabilities which lie in this game.

These games would be highly valuable to the youngest children in your High School at Gera, for the teaching of symbol, form and number, and also in regard to the clear expression in speech of what the child has observed. And it seems to me that this is one of the ways in which our games might have proved of practical use to your High School. Would not the directors of the High School arrange for a preparatory class, below the first school form, like Herr Schneider has done at Frankfurt? You could then give these games as a kind of reward to the children. Drawing on chequered slates is extremely important for girls, training them to exactness and to the perception of the beautiful.¹

¹ This does not mean that Froebel thought drawing more important for little girls than little boys ; but only that in his day it was already customary to

Now it is certainly time to close this letter. God bless and guide you, and your dear ones, safely from the old year into the new. And remain as friendly and true to me in the new year as you have been in the old : before all things remain faithful to our work.

Your Cousin,
FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER XV.

Blankenburg, 19th Sept., 1843.¹

DEAREST COUSIN,—

I had firmly purposed this very day to write to you, firstly, to wipe off my epistolary debt towards you, and secondly, at last to send you, and through you the other lady subscribers to the Kindergarten, a complete account of the movement up to date, including a cash statement. But, further, I longed for some news of you and of your dear ones after so great a lapse of time, and I needed to refresh myself with new tokens of your sympathy with my life.

And just now comes your kind letter, with so encouraging an assurance of all this, that I really hardly know how sufficiently to thank you for it. For while much sympathy reaches us in life and along its usual chain of occurrences, sympathy is indeed rare with those inner feelings, those gravest emotions, our silently passing memories of events in life and the anniversaries which recall them ; so rare, indeed, that we can count scarcely any sympathizers at all with us in such matters. How happy then am I, who can feel assured of such a sympathy from you, seeing that I have received so many oft-repeated assurances of it ; and how I rejoice to-day at your continued remembrance of me and at the interest you still take in my life.

Yes, dear cousin, it is quite true that the dear departed one whose memory you are so kind as to honour with me on this

teach boys drawing and was not yet customary to teach it to girls, to whom nevertheless, as he points out, it was also of extreme importance.

¹ There is a lapse of three-quarters of a year between this letter and the preceding.

anniversary, was a woman of very uncommon character—uncommon in the perfect correspondence of her inner development and culture with her outer life ; as uncommon in the lofty clearness of her mind as in the warmth and affectionateness of her soul ; as uncommon in the thoroughness of her education and the accuracy of her judgment, as in the simple and unassuming nature of her whole being. The more opportunity I have had, since her outward separation from me (and in consequence of my adopted career), of studying the character of woman's soul and woman's life in all ages and of all sorts and conditions, so much the more do I perceive what a wonderful educator of girls and of young women was born in her, and how much the world has lost by her continued ill-health in the last years of her life, and especially by her early death.¹

Did I ever tell you her prayer? It is so extremely simple, that even in this her whole nature is mirrored. "Make me clear, make me true, make me faithful, make me free!" In these four simple words (*klar, wahr, treu, frei*), each one of which most remarkably contains but four letters, was summed up the prayer of which her life was one long expression. This prayer I have sent you as thank-offering for your warm-souled sympathy.

And further thanks I will also give for your posting your kind letter precisely on my dear wife's birthday, the 16th ; and this time my thanks shall take the form of the following lines, which were written about her by my late father-in-law :—

*" On the first birthday of my daughter Henriette Wilhelmine,
16th Sept., 1781.*

"O thou who bringest a deeper and purer joy to my days,
Beloved and only daughter, part of my life and heart !
Thy murmuring tones redouble each pleasure that rises within me
When in the morning mine eyes grow glad with thy first baby-glances,
As, cradled all soft in my arms, thou smilest a roguish 'good morrow.'
To thee sings my heart on thy birthday, in tones which are full of rejoicing,
Full of a father's ineffable pride and delight in his offspring.
Hear Thou my song, too, O Father, O Lord and Creator of all things,
Telling, though feeble its tones, of gratitude heartfelt and tender ;
Pouring forth praise and thanksgiving for Thy gift more precious than riches.

¹ Madame Henriette Froebel (Froebel's first wife) died in 1839, four years before this letter.

O God, hearken unto the prayer that wells forth from my over-full heart,
Glows in my reddening cheek, all watered with passionate tears ;
Grant to this darling of mine, in the far-stretching ocean of life,
Protection and favouring winds till she comes to the haven at last !
Only from Thee, O my Father, come days of good fortune and pleasure ;
Pour out these blessings upon her, and add to them one far more precious—
May she have virtue, the jewel whose price is so far above rubies,
Making life splendid, and bathing the death-bed with radiant effulgence.
Forget not, O Father, Thy child, and so may her life be one Eden
Until when, her blameless head bowed 'neath the icy cold fingers of age,
Kind Death comes with gentle caresses, and lays her to sleep with the blest.”¹

These were prophetic words of her father's !

I would gladly at once proceed to answer your kind letter, but the postmaster will no longer take in letters after post-time, so I must as briefly as possible add only what is absolutely necessary.

First, please receive herewith the copies of the complete account of my system, with the money particulars referred to at the beginning of this letter, and I hope that all will prove to be quite after your own wish—I mean, clearly explanatory of the system. Send your princess a copy, moreover ; she has, happily, many most honourable predecessors in supporting us. Further, I would beg my esteemed cousin to publish in your local journal, in continuation of his previous kind communications, the news that a complete account of the system has now appeared. I want the writer to bring prominently forward the assistance which Gera has rendered in furthering this German national enterprise.

Finally, I will ask you kindly to send me back the proofs of the etchings, with the printed matter connected with them, belonging to the “Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs” (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), as the letter-press printing is now beginning, and I want the proof impressions for this work.

Remember me respectfully to all the lady subscribers to the Kindergarten, and accept my best wishes for all your dear ones.

Your Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

¹ We have taken the liberty of departing from our usual exactitude, and somewhat freely translating Herr Hoffmeister's lines, which are in extremely irregular blank verse in the original.

LETTER XVI.

Blankenburg, 19th Sept., 1843.

MUCH ESTEEMED, DEAR COUSIN,—

Fulfilling the promise in the letter I have just despatched to you, I begin now to answer your last kind letter to me.

I desire to add to what I was confiding to you concerning my dear departed wife, that her favourable judgment of the new work I had already begun in the last period of her life, the decided hopes she expressed for its success up to the last day she lived, and, above all, the blessing which in the last moments of all her pure life she lay upon this work and its beginnings—that these, I say, in unison with my own judgment and my own convictions, are what has supported me, unswerving, in my course towards the goal I have set before me. Were the results hitherto obtained yet smaller, were men and circumstances yet more unfavourable, than now they are, still the clear judgment of my wife, so quietly and firmly expressed, would have unlesened value for me. And if it were not that I must rejoice that the great opposition my life has of late years had to encounter has been spared to her, I should find it hard to endure her early loss; and, on the other hand, had she enjoyed good and vigorous health at the close of her life, her death, which in that case would have destroyed the active co-operation I should have been receiving from her in my latest life-aims and my acknowledged vocation, would, I venture boldly to assert, have proved indeed a heavy blow for my whole people.

Oh, we men acknowledge too little the importance of one single fellow-man engaged in the precise vocation for which he was destined, and holding his true post in life; we acknowledge too little the importance of the health of this single human being! Ah, but how much hangs upon this solitary thread! More is it to be prized than great knowledge and experience.

It is upon this consideration that I set such an inexpressibly high value upon the early maintenance and consolidation of the bodily and mental health. And therefore likewise do I strive

to attain a right comprehension of each child's life-vocation. These possessions—bodily health and knowledge of one's true vocation in life—I would secure to every man, in his childhood, at the earliest possible moment.

But the parents refuse to listen. Who, then, can alter it? God cannot, of Himself, for His purpose is to create men with a free will, determining their career for themselves. Well—but this much I know, that many men's careers have been broken, and many more are daily and hourly now being broken, through failure to understand their vocation in life. Up till now there has been no means of ascertaining a man's vocation. To provide such a means is my great care, and is the cause of my devotion to the elaboration of my game-system. It is indeed the inmost secret aim I have had in view; and when once it is generally acknowledged, there will begin a new era for the human race. At present the greater part of mankind has sorrowfully to complain: "When the determination of my life, of my position in the community of my fellow-citizens, yet lay free for my own hand to choose, or for my friends to choose for me, I was, as these youths are, all unsure upon the whole matter; whence it comes that all my life long I have been kept back, and that my career has been a thing of shreds and patches." But in God's purpose it was neither meant to be nor to remain such.

We who know better must not cease to live our present lives of sacrifice for the overcoming of these evils. There are many of us, and of both sexes. We must not cease to join hands and hearts, nor mutually to render help and trust to one another.

Properly the German Kindergarten should be by this time aiding us in our task: only men are so blind. In furthering the German Kindergarten, each man would be but furthering the realisation of the dearest wishes of his heart. Who can endow men with insight? Speaking openly, heart to heart, dear cousin, how much of your inmost and loftiest spiritual life do you not owe, according to your own showing, to this idea of a German Kindergarten? And is it not so with many more mothers in Gera? Wherefore you ought all to clasp hands with me, and to enlist your lady friends in the cause as well, so that I can reach you all eventually—though I

shall have been long dead, and though it is your children and your children's children to whom I shall then be speaking, through the progress and development of this idea of the Kindergarten. For what are the following if they are not weighty words of promise? Health of body and mind, knowledge and grasp of our determination, of our vocation in life, peace of heart, joy of soul, and vigorous creative power! And yet no man seems willing to make sacrifices to attain such ends! Your own letter in its most just complaints of the defects of girls' present education shows the fact all too clearly.

Whenever men shall have perceived with certainty that for themselves and for their children the service of the Educational Idea means a life founded upon a sure basis, means bread, means civic well-being, then at last shall this educational idea number as great multitudes of disciples as do the churches of the present day in what concerns the various matters of religious belief.

And even to you, dearest cousin, I would say, examine yourself on this point. You would gladly know that your dear son was engaged in the service of this great idea, such as you have always embodied it in your own mind; but in secret your fear lest in its pursuit he may neglect to secure the necessary basis for an assured condition in civic life. Do I make a mistake in putting it thus? Have I misunderstood your feelings and my good cousin's your husband? What would you answer if I ventured to say to you, "Educate your son for the idea of humanity"?

"Shall we meet again hereafter?" you ask. Yes, as you suppose, I do believe firmly that we shall personally meet hereafter all those with whom in life we have been united by some fundamental conception, some common root principle: and I have grounds for my conviction. As regards the rest of mankind, even if some common dwelling-place of the departed should bring us face to face with them, we probably should pass them by as we now pass them by in this world, knowing them not. This conviction being firmly established within me, I nevertheless cherish to my utmost the further belief in continuous spiritual community of life between myself and my beloved ones, "not

lost, but gone before ;” yes, and I believe, moreover, in the reflex working of my culture of this spiritual communion back upon my own life ; I believe I can find it, and can trace it in its influence upon my actions.

And also in recalling such imaginings I am again brought back to the establishment of the Kindergarten and our association for its promotion : a powerful bond of union exists in the thought, that at the basis of the Kindergarten lies an idea which serves alike for all the interstellar spaces, for all the systems of the suns, namely this :—The fulfilment of the divine will even to the smallest details, and the manifestation of the same. This is especially seen when in order to become consciously such a manifestation of the divine, man has first to attain the basis of self-consciousness ; to which end serves the early culture of the spirit of humanity in the world of childhood. And seeing what lofty, and at the same time true and hopeful ideas are thus interwoven with the furtherance and culture of our main idea, that is, with the foundation and development of the Kindergarten system, who divines its power, who believes in its truth, who is willing with this aim to work for it unswervingly ? It is a grain of mustard seed, under the shade of whose branches, when they have grown great, shall rest our children and our children’s children, in peace and joy. (See Mark iv. 31, 32.)

I read further on in your letter : “ Moritz’s future position often gives me serious anxiety.”

I should in your place, and in Moritz’s place, whether he is to be a merchant or a man of business, bind up his life with the service of an idea ; and this is possible more now than ever by the path I have made clear, which leads through the careful culture of the child’s life, and the man’s, onwards to an industrial career.

If your son were older, if he had already served his apprenticeship as a merchant, and if we were sitting together making actual arrangements in view of immediate practical conclusions, I could speak more definitely to you. Enough for the present to say that a spiritual view of all vocations and careers in life, with especial relation to the highest opportunities they offer (and quite

before all others, with relation to the education and culture of mankind, collectively and individually, *i.e.* by nations as well as by individual men and children), will in its own good time be clearly ascertained and made manifest. The German Kindergarten, in its industrial and mercantile aspects, is even now striking out the path to such an end ; but who is able to divine the great in the little, the perfect conception of a visible life in the abstraction of an invisible idea ?

Do not forget, but consider carefully the conclusion I drew just now from the contemplation of the life of my departed wife :— That upon the right understanding and the right handling of the life of some one single human being may depend the well-being of the whole race. We pass far too lightly over the single life and the need of care for it, especially at the moment of deciding upon its career, the choice of its life-work. It costs much trouble to examine all carefully, I know full well ; we must go thoroughly through an entire set of circumstances to arrive at a correct decision, but none of this is lost labour. The only thing which can now and at once give to a human life a sure foundation, and which also will remain true for all time, is such a conception of its career as is based upon the true inner welfare of the race.

As to the causes you enumerate for the impending close of your Kindergarten, I think just as you do ; yet I am not at one with you about the injurious influence and the disturbing effect you allege that it has produced upon your domestic life. But I must recollect my ignorance as to this last, and not be like a blind man who presumes to reason about colours. This much, however, I must declare as my firm conviction. The service of a great principle working for human good, of a thought recognised as rife with blessing for mankind at large, must necessarily be fraught also with blessing, peace and joy for each one ; especially bringing these treasures into any family where such an idea is cherished, and such a thought is embodied and is developed in actual life. I cannot give up my absolute conviction of this. Were this view not a true one, were this conviction not immovably fixed upon a sure basis, absolutely self-sufficient, all work for mankind and the good of mankind undertaken by any single

man would lack any sure foundation, and the whole endeavour would be a foolish child's play. But it is not so !

"Shall you continue Kindergarten work ?" you ask. Well, consult your husband about this, consult also the mothers who gave you their confidence ; but do so, if it be possible, from a serious and vital point of view. This is quite certain, that if you let slip the thread, and allow the clue to be drawn in amongst the knotted skein of life, you will find it hard to recover it, and firmly to seize it again.

The system is earnestly discussed now on every side. Do you see the Kohla newspaper in Gera ? In No. 35 you will find an article about my work here. It is much too restricted to a personal notice of myself, which is unpleasant to me, though I serve as a point of union for the whole system : and Middendorff says "It is stimulating." But have you not some one at hand who will write about the system and its principles in your local journal, say upon the occasion of the publication of my general account of the Kindergarten system ? You have your dear husband and other friends by your side, and can win honour for Gera by contriving to get this done ; besides that, it will be of good augury for future work. The system, as I said, is now openly recognised as valuable, in many places. I have just spoken of one such public approval, and I may add another, in the pamphlet called "The Orphan Boy of Herrenburg," by Pastor Fredner, of Wölflis, near Ohrdruf, in Gotha. Good words, you see, no longer arrive singly, and boldly venture to show themselves.

With respect to your wishes about the little verses, I will do what I can ; meanwhile take the supplement to yesterday's *Sunday Journal* as an earnest of my promise.

We are daily expecting my nephew Ferdinand Froebel on a visit.

My joy over the S. family has come to an end. Even before four weeks had elapsed, our close relations had ceased. A big book might be written about the affair. I believe I am right in saying that the spirit of my whole system was too lofty for Herr S. He could not work in it, even if he had been able to understand and grasp it. He took great pleasure in the actual work, but

never attained to a true conception of its meaning. Perhaps he felt this. At all events, he flung his taunts of disillusion in my face. It was a repetition of a very common history, that of the fox and the grapes; the grapes were too high, so he called them sour; and now he speaks ill of me to high and low, to prince and peasant. What is to be done but to keep a dignified silence under all this, live it down, and show by actual work that the system was and is quite other than he represents it to be?

You see, dear cousin, that we all have our special troubles to fight against, every one's life is more or less broken; but what you hope will arise from your work for the benefit of your little world of children, I hope will come also to me and mine from my work. And like you, I shall continue in spite of all hindrances, to gather round me children and those who love children, and strive to lead both the first and the second towards the goal of humanity.

This summer many very intelligent strangers have visited me: some from Wittenburg, from Landsburg on the Warte, from Marlishausen, from Altenburg, etc. Also a Dr. Hult Yates, from London, and his wife came to see me, and manifested the greatest interest in the whole subject, taking home with him my games and my publications in order to translate them and bring them out in English.¹

I have several very capable girls here, studying with me.

I not only "have still the idea of visiting Leipzig this year and running on to Gera," but I am actually working hard daily and hourly without intermission to render it possible; for its realisation depends entirely on the conclusion of my work in time.

And in a general way I think of travelling, when this work is over, for the promulgation of the idea; its possible general acceptance seems to demand this of me.

Again I send the warmest greetings to your whole family,
from your Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

¹ We have not as yet found any trace of such translations.

LETTER XVII.

Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 17th Dec., 1844.¹

DEAR COUSIN,—

You could not be allowed to keep Christmas without some small gift from me, even if it consists but of these few lines of a letter and one or two not very important newspapers with accounts of my work on the Main, the Neckar and the Rhine. My friend Middendorff has already told you, in his answer to your two last kind letters to myself, that ever since last Whitsuntide I have been partly drawn, partly driven by peculiar chances amongst the various cities which lie along the three rivers I have named—and partly I have gone thither of my own free will—in the pursuit of my work concerning the early care of little children, their first beginnings of education and of culture, etc., the materials for which I find spread over all God's world, wherever power, life and spirit are at work.

“That in itself is praiseworthy and noble,” will you say, “but to forget your friends amidst these pursuits—friends, moreover, who have so enthusiastically worked for them with you, and still continue to work—no, my dear cousin, that is neither praiseworthy nor noble.” You are quite right, my dear cousin; and who is the greatest loser by the fault, and who feels the truth of the remark more deeply than I?

In the rush of my labours I am unable to allow myself the smallest recreation; my entire aim and endeavour is only directed towards the one end. The loveliest songs of the birds, the choicest blooms of the flowers, the mild midsummer evenings and the winter nights all aflame with stars, are for me as if they were not; it seems as if I dare not stay to enjoy them until I have won at least some part of the way towards my goal; but I find it bitterly hard, even with all this, to gain the smallest step in advance. And while in my struggle with the problem of education, I find half the men I know arrayed against me, nay, I may

¹ It will be observed that there is a lapse of a year and a quarter between this letter and the preceding.

say, there are three to one, four to one, or even a hundred to one against me, and while true peaceful pleasure is denied me—at the same time, and in consequence of my restless mental labours, the most important concerns of life have to go neglected, as my friends very properly remind me; the sword of Damoklès is constantly swinging over my head, and danger is averted by but a single hair.¹ The most miserable part of it all is that whilst I know and feel my position, I am powerless to change it. People think I live thoughtlessly and regard my own pleasure only, whereas I am ceaselessly thinking and searching for the Right and the True; though, indeed, no one is satisfied with the result.

I am like an arrow which has struck its mark, but is unable to pierce it, and is shattered by its own force. I am like a tree upon the summit of a rock, grown up from a seed that has fallen into some crevice, and now standing exposed to all the storms and howling winds of those heights; such a tree as must renounce the joy of lovely flowers and ripening fruit, and content itself with driving its roots ever deeper into the rocky clefts, ever further into the darkness and the night, gaining thereby strength to resist the storm, lest it be hurled altogether over the precipice into everlasting darkness and night beneath.

“A pretty Christmas letter, indeed!” you are saying. “How can a letter like this, full of complaint, dare to show itself this Christmastide, and to pose as if bringing some message of joy?” Yes, it dare and can! For by all this a sincere friend is only trying to tell his kind womanly sympathiser that no common forgetfulness has caused his long silence, but only the ceaseless quest of the Golden Fleece of childhood and childhood’s early care and training which we are all forced to admit as indisputably necessary, and which prize, had I once obtained it, I should have brought home to you, dearest cousin, and to all my friends, to your great rejoicing.

¹ We understand Froebel to mean by this that just as the pleasure of Damoklès in the banquet spread before him was stayed by the sight of the drawn sword hanging above his head, suspended by one single hair, so his own pleasure in his noble effort was destroyed because of the constant pecuniary and other difficulties which seemed perpetually on the point of overwhelming him.

It has been, therefore, my desire to bring you joy, my friend so true and constant, which has kept me silent this long while, and has, however, only had for result that I send you a letter full of complaints as a Christmas gift, instead of that joyful present we hoped for. You see, then, that if the ultimate cause of this letter be considered, it is after all suitable for Christmastide; for what should be the nature of all Christmas gifts, from the greatest to the least? They ought to come from the heart of the giver, and express the inmost feelings of both the giver and receiver: and what more precious thing can one human being give to another than the key which unlocks the chambers of his soul?

It is thus that I live with my blessed one, my late wife; and as I progress with myself, as I rise higher and higher, so do I gain more insight into the meaning of her life upon earth. And if ever God grant us to meet again—a thought which enfolds such great bliss that I trust it is not a mere imagination of my own mind—we shall meet as after an outward separation, truly, but also as after an unbroken inner companionship: and so will it be, I believe, with all the souls who have learned truly to know each other during their present earthly pilgrimage.

But I must give you a sketch of my journey. On Whit-Monday I came here, and found my old friend Schnyder from Wartensee: and in fact it was specially in order to meet him that I came hither. Nevertheless, after only a day or two, he was obliged to return home to Switzerland.

Through an old friend, Von Leonhardi, I became acquainted with a merchant of this town, a certain Herr Klotz, whom in the following week I accompanied to his country seat at Lower Ingelheim, a place doubtless known to you because the emperor Carl the Great (Charlemagne) held his court there. And in that place I was high busy for three or four weeks over reforming a charity school for children. The accompanying sheet from the *Educational Journal of the Grand Duchy of Hesse* will tell you all the rest about this part of my doings. Soon after this I was living in Darmstadt to be near Ida Seele, who is established here as Kindergarten teacher, directing Kindergarten games, and who was educated by me for her new vocation, so that we

might bring into practical working order my games and occupations.

As Darmstadt lies on the high road from Heidelberg to Frankfurt, and I was living alternately in both places, I often stopped in Darmstadt, there to labour at the further construction of the work now begun in earnest, or rather, to watch over it and care for it as a gardener tends his plants.¹

My head quarters were at Heidelberg; and I gained much by my stay there. I lived with a faithful and energetically helpful friend of mine, the Leonhardi whom I have just mentioned; and I profited greatly, not only from this old friendship, but from many new ones. I also found them all very eager for the establishment of a Kindergarten there; though indeed the realization of their hopes still lies in the future. I am grateful to Heidelberg for one acquaintance especially, that of a certain doctor of medicine, a German American, who was then staying in Heidelberg in order to study the newest European discoveries in his science, meaning to introduce them in America on his return home next year. I had much confidential talk with him about my struggles, and he urged me most earnestly to go to America, where he was sure that I should reap an immediate harvest from my self-sacrificing labours, so that I could soon earn for myself the means of gaining my goal and achieving my aim by my own unaided effort. I still seriously harbour the idea,

¹ It might seem a little strange that Froebel has not mentioned here the well-known Darmstadt educationist, Julius Fölsing, whose intimacy he enjoyed, even to the point of frequent and vehement discussions on educational points where the two *savans* found themselves in disagreement. At Fölsing's request Froebel introduced his games and occupations into the Infant School (*Spielechule*) which formed part of the great educational institution of Darmstadt, founded and directed by Fölsing. Froebel sent one of his pupils from Blankenburg, a lady known, both by her maiden name, Ida Seele, and later on as Madame Vogeler, as one of the master's earliest and most faithful disciples. (Her later Kindergarten work was confined principally to Berlin. One of the present writers had the pleasure of being instructed by Madame Vogeler in the use of Froebel's gifts. Her ways with children in the Kindergarten were inexpressibly charming, and are still remembered with delight by all who heard her teach.) But later on Fölsing quarrelled openly with Froebel, chiefly because of Froebel's insisting upon the name "Kindergarten," and swiftly turned from a warm friend to a bitter foe. See the Introduction to Part IV. "Attack and Defence," and the Letters to Mme. Lütken in that part.

and shall consider the possibility of carrying it into execution next spring.

From Heidelberg I went to Carlsruhe, where I worked for my cause with lectures and conferences. The outcome of it all still lies in the dusky bosom of the future. More decided was the result in Stuttgart, where the wife of Herr von Pistorius, the Councillor of Legation, invited me to introduce my games and occupations into the Children's Home at Geisburg, where she has property and influence. I was exceedingly happy to find two sisters there, and fifty children, all of bright intelligence. Further on I sowed the good seed in Bensheim and in Osthofen, near Worms.

For the last six weeks I have been here, working at my publications and my games.

"God created man in His own image: in the image of God created He him" (Gen. i. 27); and "Ye should be perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 48). What do these texts mean, if not that man ought to set God's work, God's creation, before himself, as a type or model? Now God sets forth His will first, and then His purpose, in things, in facts, in the corporeal and phenomenal world, and so ought man to do likewise: wherefore I, too, from now and henceforth, shall create and work and set forth my will and the aim and object of my life, the path and method of my educational endeavour, by means of things and facts, and a world of material manifestations. "The child creates his own world for himself; it is at once the expression of his inward realization of the external world and its surroundings, and also the outward representation of his internal mental world, the world of his own subjectivity."

Humanity, the child, the boy, the girl, and too often also, the man and the woman, shall, as far as my strength and my will can

¹ The reader will observe that Froebel's idea of a *Deutscher Kindergarten* (German National Kindergarten) has already expanded, as it was evidently sure to do sooner or later, into the broader idea of a Kindergarten Movement without limits of nationality. And as to his relations with the United States—always kept before him as an eventual resource after a possible failure in Germany—they continued till his death. See Letter III. to Madame Lütkens, in Part IV., written in March, 1852, the year he died.

prevent, no longer waste their force, their time, their means in all the various relations of life, paying, as it were, a dear scholar's fee, only to perceive too late, when the path has turned and is already descending towards the grave, of what lofty meaning is Life! Even the smallest things of life are important if each man is to attain with certainty his earthly determination and destiny; which are the preparation for his new life beyond.

God clothed His highest, His own image, in a mass of clay, and was not ashamed of His creation; neither will I then be ashamed to set forth in little blocks of wood my ideas upon the nature of man and especially of the child, such as I have evolved them by long thought, dating back even to my childhood and my earliest youth. And though these ideas have passed through many stages, varying in clearness, yet they have been always alike in one thing—namely, in the absolute truth of their expression of my soul and mind at the time.

As soul and mind have shaped themselves from out the mass of clay forming humanity, so also shall the educational spirit and the soul which cherishes the life of children shape themselves from the mass of wood, the ball, and the little wooden blocks of the Kindergarten.

I know clearly what I want, and I will win it by these means. What God, as Creator and Father, did for each man and for all men too, for humanity, in His creation, by means of His creation, that will I imitate, as a man (acting, as far as I may, like the Father), in my creation, in my world which I have created, and by means of this world of mine, for the benefit of each one—as will be seen when men have grasped the true meaning of the materials I employ;—namely, the ball, the cube, etc.; but in especial and quite above all else, for the benefit of childhood, for the good of children, the germs and buds of humanity.

I hope and wish, dear cousin, that this letter has after all proved a Christmas pleasure. A true womanly soul cannot misunderstand me, for what I am so earnestly striving for is only what the uninfluenced woman's soul, the pure wifely spirit, does of itself. And indeed woman often devotes herself, soul, will and desire, to things which are most insignificant in outward appearance, and

whose significance we men understand either too late or not at all. As I hope that you have understood me, and that my letter has thus fulfilled its purpose, I would beg of you to keep it for future testimony in my favour, after I shall have been carried to the grave; for what I have here written to you has welled up from my very soul, and has been set down without any other thought than to make myself and my work clearly understood by you, and to give you pleasure thereby.

If my dear cousin, your husband, can do anything with any of the enclosed newspapers towards making my endeavours more widely known—as for instance, in the *Leipzig Daily Journal*—he would give me great pleasure, and you, too, would oblige me if you would try at convenient opportunities to help on the sale of my productions. See now, I have become quite a merchant, but I hope a true merchant, according to God's image in nature; for God's way is to resolve all that is unusual and complete into the elements of which it is composed, to be anew worked up into higher forms, and perhaps at last to appear as part of man himself.

I receive your affectionate present in the same spirit, and thank you for it: everything is with me not only an end in itself, but a means for reaching something still more general, and therefore more lofty.

And now I have nothing more to say to-day, except to wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year: a happy departure from the old year and a happy, peaceful, joyful entry into the new year, 1845. When I say I wish "you" a merry Christmas, I mean to include your whole family union—yourself, your husband, and all the children; yet I will add for each individual, my most cordial wish that a blessing may fall on him or her.

Finally, just one request; gladden me with a few lines right soon. I shall find difficulty in spending Christmas amongst my own people, for a promise given to a friend and the claims of life unite to retain me here. But by the new year I hope to be home again.

In the new year as in the old, in the future as throughout the past,

I am your faithful, grateful Cousin,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER XVIII.

Keilhau, near Rudolstadt, 23rd January, 1847.¹

If I were not cognisant of your great kindness and indulgence towards me, dear and much-esteemed cousin, proofs of which I have so repeatedly experienced from you, I certainly should expect you to scold me for letting three weeks slip by before sending you any word of thanks for your sympathy, manifested in so many different ways [during my visit]. And especially since I have not yet inquired after your health, which is so dear to me; not asked if the heartfelt prayers for your steady improvement which I offered up when leaving Gera have been heard, to the joy of your dear ones. May it have been so: and pray let me be assured of it, if even only by a few lines from the hand of my dear cousin, your husband.

On my return I found letters here which have still further increased my work. Also, two new students have made their appearance. This makes six young women in all, who are studying for Kindergarten teachers with me; *i.e.* studying to develop their usefulness as trainers of children. It gives me much extra trouble and work to bring up these newly entered students to the level of the others; and indeed, the thing is almost impossible to be done. Although I am at work from nine in the morning to seven in the evening, uninterruptedly, except for two hours at noon and an hour at tea-time, leading, teaching, and personally always busy and in request, all this eager stir and movement, so fresh, sound, and vigorous, only gives me pleasure, when I see it blossoming and setting for fruit. Oh, my child-loving cousin, could you only take part once again, after this long time, in our morning hour, from nine to ten, which we devote entirely to the subject of the development of the child! How much should we not hear and learn from you in the course of our discussion! We always closely connect our work with actual observations

¹ The reader will observe that two years have elapsed between this and the previous letter. Froebel has just returned from a stay with Madame Schmidt at Gera, during which he has observed with regret that her health had become impaired.

drawn from life. I should also like to invite you to our building lessons. Such a vigorous life manifests itself in them, expressing itself by form, by speech, and quite beyond either, by song! Besides the young teacher from Annaburg I have won over yet another teacher, Herr Stangenberger, in Poppenwind, a musically gifted young man, to help me in my building-songs.

Many very pretty pieces, for single children, or for the whole class, with words and melodies, have we composed during these last weeks, most of them suggested by the free spontaneity of the children themselves. No! the wealth and blessing for the children and for their teachers—the true “gardeners” of the garden of children (Kindergarten)—which lies in these progressive occupations for children cannot be expressed in words, nor sung in melodies!

One can scarcely believe the fact that men are so dull; that the human heart has become so wooden or stony as not to be able to feel the true force of these things, as not to be ready to sacrifice anything to spread abroad such a system of child-culture, of human culture and development—not ready to stretch out a willing hand to the support of one who is struggling to achieve and carry out this system. The most that they do is to rob me of perhaps the best pair of wing feathers that I have ever grown, to make pretty feather coronets for themselves from out my publications; in fact, out of the ninety-ninth book for children they set to work to make a hundredth.

I wish you could have been here this evening and seen the many beautiful and varied forms and lovely patterns which freely and spontaneously developed themselves from some systematic variations of a simple ground form, in stick-laying. No one would believe, without seeing it, how the child-soul—the child-life—develops, when treated as a whole, and in the sense of forming a part of the great connected life of the world, by some skilled Kindergarten teacher—nay, even by one who is only simple-hearted, thoughtful, and attentive; nor how it blooms into delicious harmonies like a beautifully tinted flower. Oh, if I could only shout aloud with ten thousand lung-power the truth that I now tell you in silence! Then would I make the ears of a

hundred thousand men ring with it ! What keenness of sensation, what a soul, what a mind, what force of will and active energy, what dexterity and skill of muscular movement and of perception, and what calm and patience will not all these things call out in the children !

How is it that parents are so blind and deaf when they profess to be so eager to work for the welfare, the health and peace of their children ? No ! I cannot understand it ; and yet a whole generation has passed since this system first delivered its message, first called for educational amendment, first pointed out where the need for it lay, and showed how it could be satisfied.

If I were not afraid of being taken for an idiot or an escaped lunatic, I would run barefoot from one end of Germany to the other and cry aloud to all men : "Set to work at once for your children's sake, on some universally developing plan, aiming at unity of life-purpose, and through that at joy and peace." But what good would it do ? A Curtman and a Ramsauer¹ in their stupidity or maliciousness, make it their duty to stigmatise my work as sinful, when I am but quietly corresponding with just my own friends and sympathisers, for they say I am destroying all pleasure in life for the parents : "who could be so silly as I—amongst sane men who acknowledge that parents have a right to enjoy life—I who perpetually call to these parents in tones of imperative demand, "Come, let us live for our children !" ("Kommt, laszt uns unsern Kindern leben").

Thus talk the very men who are so anxious to bring peace, or at all events, happiness and well-being to our nation and our fatherland, through the education of its youth ; thus talk the fathers, guides, and teachers of the nation. What a condition of soul and spirit this betrays ! Who can portray it ?

Why do I worry you with all this, dear cousin ? Because of the need which weighs on the human heart for another and a sympathising heart, and because I know the faithful, honest share you take in my life and its endeavours. And even the utterance of the confidence strengthens him who confides his sorrows to another.

¹ Unfriendly "orthodox" critics of Froebel.

I have not been able to give you assurance of my continued and undiminished trust in you for this long time. May this, like all trust, fortify your soul.

Your Keilhau relatives have all taken a most lively interest in your recovery of health. All send their hearty good wishes. And I would ask you to give the same from me to all your dear ones. Once more I urge you to let me hear news of you, just a few lines to tell me that your health is returning.

Your faithful Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER XIX.

Keilhau, 14th October, 1847.

DEAR AND ESTEEMED COUSIN,—

Your kind letter of the 20th June and 5th of July reached me, having been sent after me on my travels. To answer it in its fulness of feeling and purity of intellectual thought, as it deserved, was impossible amid the bustle of my life at that time, and the many claims upon me, and so my answer was deferred till I should be home again at Keilhau. And when I at last reached here I was plunged into distractions of all sorts. Please, therefore, forgive my delay in replying.

Those beautiful and precious experiences of soul and mind, arising from your invalid condition, which you have been so kind as to communicate to me—who is there that would not rejoice over them in heartfelt sympathy with you? I thank you most earnestly for them. Something of the same kind took place with my beloved wife, now amongst the blest, when she seemed outwardly to have already abandoned all participation in the affairs of life, and was lying calm in spirit and self-absorbed, almost as if dead: and yet she was following in her own mind the thoughtful conversation which chanced to be proceeding at the moment between myself and some friends by her bedside. She manifested her consciousness of our talk by short ejaculations, illuminating the stillness like flashes of starlight in a dark night. Had my dear wife enjoyed the chance which fell to you, of becoming restored

to health once again, she would have doubtless had some such experiences to recount as those you have been so good as to confide to me. On this account, dear cousin, I am doubly grateful to you ; for you have shown me the joyful vision that must have been before my dear departed one in those moments of exaltation of spirit accompanying the outward bodily exhaustion and collapse.

Permit me then, dear cousin, in return for your communication from a condition of bodily illness and suffering, to make a communication to you from my present condition of bodily health and vigour.

My life always was and still is, as your own observation must have shown you, often a very harassed existence as regards eternal relations ; full of trouble, anxiety and care. It was only natural that in the past, when my dear wife still shared my life with me, and many other friends surrounded me, that these times of worry and hindrance should have their effect upon my friends as well as upon myself ; and then I was in the habit of explaining to them, and especially to my dear wife, the workings of these trials upon my spirit, the clear insight into life which sprang from them, the complete glance over the whole of existence and the sensation of spiritual independence which I gained thereby. If those heavy days had fallen on me alone, and had not pressed also on my wife and on my friends, I could have willingly borne them, and even thankfully rejoiced in them ; for the benefits always far outweigh the injuries in these untoward circumstances ; the mind clears itself and is raised into personal independence and liberty of thought.

You see here, dear cousin, amidst externally troublous and thwarting relations of life the same effect on the spirit taking place as that which you have experienced from the sickness of your body—the spirit gains in freedom, independence and activity, and grows more penetrating and more circumspect. These two experiences, yours as well as mine, are of the highest importance in the conduct of life, as regards its disturbed and difficult passages, or its outward circumstances and life-relations ; for the victorious spirit not only shows itself more independent and free, but many a thing which first asserted itself as a hindrance often serves finally

towards this very development and enfranchisement of spirit ; what seems at first to cloud it, does in fact clear its vision.

In general, it seems to me, judging by my own light and indeed by that of strangers as well, that the human spirit ought to fulfil its duty of winning more independence and freedom through and in life itself. It should therefore, independently and self-impelled, but at the same time in conjunction with others, bind itself to work for the culture, the guidance and development, and the education of all that is truly for the good of humanity, and therefore especially to the watchful care of children.

It seems to me that this free, independently active spirit, wherever it finds itself, should especially devote itself to cherish the master-thought, the ground-idea of our time :—that is, the education and development of man ; for it can only mirror itself, and recognise its own features, in the surface of some work undertaken in common with others.

I think that in our day, in numerous ways, this really represents the struggle and the yearning of men's spirits in general under our special circumstances ; and I firmly believe that it is the need of your soul in particular ; a need felt by you your whole life long, but not yet clearly acknowledged. The pure soul and the consciously pure intellect regard as above all things else the culture of mankind by means of self-sacrificing, watchful care. This is their basis of action, this their goal. And herein lies the well-spring, dearest cousin, of that enduring love which you bear towards children and child-culture, and also of the progressive and helpful care which you bestow upon the Kindergarten idea.

This twofold aspect of the work (at once basis and goal) is a phenomenon which I have repeatedly observed in my life, and from it flows that remark which I have already made above :—The spirit which is free within itself, and pure, strives after a personal, *i.e.*, an outwardly unfettered union with others for aiding the development of the human being, especially in the world of children, just as the spirit of mankind strives ever, in a precisely analogous action, to become a freer spirit.

I sympathise heartily in your joy over your motherly union of heart with your son Robert. A more beautiful and blessed ex-

ample of the relation of mother to son cannot be imagined ; and it bears witness, moreover, to what I was just now saying :—the longing of the spirit, free within itself and pure, after intimate communication of thought. In your case this intimate union of spirits arose out of communion with Nature, and the emotions of the soul which sprang from that source, and the thoughts which then filled your minds. I will make this prayer with you :—May life never rob him of the emotions and thoughts which then arose within him ! When you write to him, send him my cordial good wishes. And the cheerful confidence, supported by a thorough union of soul and of family feeling, with which you view the life-development of your Moritz, gives me much pleasure ; wherefore, pray greet him, too, most cordially from me.

The present circumstances of your domestic relations impel you once more to observe the remarkable manner in which you are continually brought back into the sphere of the education of children ; it is like some apparition that turns and winds itself through all the paths of your life. If I do not mistake, I have already previously called your attention to this, and expressed my belief that you ought to have pursued this career further than you did, and in fact, ought still to pursue it.

With the vigorous help of younger teachers you ought to plant and bring into full fair blossoming—a Kindergarten !

J. B. cherishes the hope of being appointed to the superintendence of the Gera *crèche*¹ (*Bewahr-Anstalt*) next year. Pray write me the truth of this in your next letter. I should be exceedingly glad if it were so, and still more if the *crèche* took on the name of Kindergarten, as has been the case in Annaburg, Marienberg, Lünen, and Homburg. People do indeed say, "What's in a name? A name is but a sound ; the thing is the real matter." That is quite true in one sense : but the same thing under this new name develops an entirely new spirit, we find ; and it is, after

¹ *Bewahr-Anstalt* is precisely the German for the French *Crèche*, an institution for keeping the children of poor working mothers safe during the day while their parents are at their daily work. The system of the *crèche* is now being adopted in England, in London and in many provincial towns : Croydon for one.

all, the spirit which is the life of anything. Therefore do I wish for a Kindergarten in the place, where you may co-operate in its work. All your fore-feelings, dear good cousin, set forth in your letter, which in this very moment I have again read through with keen pleasure, would thus reach their fulfilment. You would completely "experience the reflex feeling of blessedness which always flows back over our soul, and over our mind and body also, when we have been amongst the children playing the Kindergarten games."

I am grateful to you for your kind thought of me whilst playing with the children on the merry afternoons you speak of. Such little friendly reminiscences, dear cousin, are necessary to cheer and refresh the life of the toiling man and the weary mind, for without them he soon sinks into the Slough of Despond, and regards his work as fruitless, like the Danaïds eternally fetching water in a sieve.

You would perhaps like a bird's-eye view of my excursion—so here it is. In May I completed my course of teaching with the students. In the first days of June I went to Gotha, to examine the progress of the Kindergarten there, and to introduce one of my later students as partner in the direction.¹ From Gotha I went on to Marienberg, in the Upper Erzgebirge,² to be present at the opening of the Marienberg Kindergarten on the 9th of June, and here I stayed for eight days. Then I was in Annaburg (a few miles off), where I visited Superintendent Schumann, and delivered an address in a conference of clergymen, on the developing and training methods which form my system of child-education. From this place I went to Plauen, in Saxon Voigtland,³ where for a few days I tilled the land which I had earlier sown, watered it plentifully, and devoted especial care to the Kindergarten.

¹ The Gotha Kindergarten was that under the direction of the well-known August Köhler, familiar to all Kindergarten students as author of the *Praxis des Kindergartens*, translated in part by Miss Mary Gurney under the title of "Practical Guide to the Kindergarten."

² The "Ore-Mountains" famous for their metallic treasures, dividing Saxony from Bohemia. Marienberg is a little place five miles from the Bohemian frontier, and about fifteen miles south of Chemnitz.

³ In the lower Erzgebirge, on the Saxon side, forming the extreme western corner of Saxony.

About the end of June I came back to Halle, and travelled straight through to Quetz,¹ to Pastor Hildenhagen's, to arrange a children's festival for the children of the Kindergarten there (which has been open for a year now), in conjunction with the school children of the place.

On the 25th July this festival took place. Your newspaper, I suppose, gave you an account of it ; but I send you herewith two other accounts which seem to me to go deeper into the matter, and yet are more simple in style than usual, especially that in the *General Intelligencer*. At this children's festival there were also present two mistresses from Hamburg, and Middendorff, who came from Keilhau, as well as several former students of mine.

A definite result accrued from this for Hamburg, because it was then and there decided to form a Kindergarten in that town ; and later on, the idea developed so far that Alwine, Middendorff's daughter, after completing her course of study, is to go there, probably next spring, to assist in actually establishing the Hamburg Kindergarten.²

In the beginning of August I travelled from Quetz to Brunswick, Hanover and Bremen ; and was back again at Quetz by the middle of August. In the three places named I worked, in response to invitations I had received, towards the establishment of a Kindergarten in each. What result will flow from my labours lies as yet in the dusky bosom of the future. The idea of the Kindergarten was eagerly received and warmly approved everywhere, especially in Brunswick.

I was at Eisenach on 25th August, at the choral festival of the Thuringian Choral Association ; and at the same time working towards the establishment of a Kindergarten there. The main idea of the system, which I expounded in an address upon the subject delivered in the Town Hall, was warmly approved ; but

¹ A little village a few miles north of Halle, in the province of Saxony.

² This was in connection with Madame Doris Lütken's Girls' High School, at Hamburg, see No. 10, Part III. (See Part IV. for correspondence with Madame Lütken herself.) Alwine Middendorff became the wife of Herr Wichard Lange, of Hamburg, editor of the standard edition of Froebel's works, from which the present translators extracted the "Autobiography of Froebel."

whether it has struck root, and a Kindergarten will actually grow out of it, remains yet in the hand of fate.¹

Now I returned home to Keilhau again, by way of Gotha and Weimar; but first I stayed a week amongst the children of a clergyman² who is related to me, and whose daughters took huge delight in our Kindergarten games.

In Gotha we celebrated the anniversary of the foundation of the Gotha Kindergarten; and in Weimar I was also able to work for the Kindergarten.

It was after an absence of fourteen weeks that I returned to Keilhau; and found all of them busy with preparations for autumn holiday journeys.

Now I must close, with cordial remembrances to all your dear ones. Write soon again to your Cousin,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER XX.

Keilhau, 7th Feb., 1848.

MUCH-ESTEEMED AND DEAR COUSIN,—

I am really not sure whether I answered your last kind letter or not. Its contents so deeply impressed me, I was so long occupied earnestly in considering what you said, and so made up my mind that I must answer it at once, that I cannot tell whether I did so or not. But let it be as it will; if I did answer, then you will see by this how I continue to be moved by your kind communication, and if I did not answer, then this will at length come to show you how seriously I have been occupied with your thoughts. The considerations and experiences which we gather in the unfettered world of soul and spirit are amongst the sweetest flowers and the richest fruits of life, and are fraught with the gravest consequences.

What can be of more concern to the educator than clear glances into the region of existence and pure Being? I have been

¹ Fräulein Trabert, a pupil of Froebel's, did afterwards found an excellent Kindergarten in Eisenach, which she conducted for thirty years.

² Probably the pastor of Buttstedt, a village near Weimar.

filled during this beginning of a new year, in an especial manner, with thoughts on the relation of human existence to pure Being, of the everlasting and permanent to the phenomenal and transitory, of the comprehensive unity to the individual unity, and also with these problems as converted to the service of educational requirements ; for example, the study of these relations and their conditioning, in actual life, with all its limitations truly considered. My mind is still full of these things.

And now I would beg of you, dear cousin, in this new year truly to cherish interchange and union of mental and spiritual life with all who surround you. The man who has arrived at clear self-consciousness can give and impart to his fellows, far more, infinitely more, than one generally considers possible ; but the solitary man, he who evidently stands alone, and especially he to whom manifold spiritual glimpses are vouchsafed, must never forget this—on the contrary, he must bring it vividly before himself and act upon it earnestly in practice—that such clear and assured spiritual glimpses have been granted to him only in order that he may evermore bring the invisible unity of spirit into greater honour, more earnest culture, and more fruitful activity. I perceive more and more how much we may prepare towards this end in our teaching of quite little children, or indeed, how we may even actually lay the foundations of it. And in such things the true nature of the Kindergarten shows itself with ever greater clearness and decision. How gladly would I write to you fully upon this topic, but time does not suffice. May you find it possible soon again to send me precious confidences like those of your last letter.

The study which has so absorbingly occupied me since the new year has centred itself chiefly around two books, whose titles I must send you, as I want you to examine these books somewhat carefully. It is true that men say ladies do not love to read books scientifically written, and filled with a definite teaching purpose. It is so much the more important that I should learn from you if the books have proved as absorbing to you as they have done to me. I am at all events sure of this ; I should dearly like to read them with you, that we might choose out what-

ever we both recognised as true in them, and apply it to the use of a Kindergarten to be conducted and cared for by both of us in common. Yes, dear cousin, that would be the greatest pleasure I could have, and the most precious gift of life I could receive, the crown and garland of honour completing my work, to found and conduct a Kindergarten with just such a thoughtful, sensible, lofty soul as yourself for my co-founder and colleague, in pure spiritual and moral accord and association. But really this does not absolutely require an outward and local companionship. Minds can work in the most intimate union, though separated by long distances of space; and so I pray you go on with your life-work, and send me cheering news of your watchful care and continued interest either in a local Kindergarten, or at all events in the Gera *crèche*.

The titles of the above-mentioned books are :—

1. "L. Aimé Martin on the Civilisation of Mankind through Women; or, the Education of the Mothers of Families." Translated by Dr. J. Leutbacher.

2. "*Psyche*, The History of the Development of the Soul," by Dr. L. G. Carus.¹

¹ The letter finishes abruptly thus, without signature. As regards the "*Psyche*," see Herr Poesche's interesting account of it in the Introduction to Part IV. of the present book.

APPENDIX to LETTER I.
of the series of letters addressed to Madame SCHMIDT, in Gera.

"Come, let us live for our children."

SKETCH

of a plan for founding and developing a
Kindergarten,

or General Institution for increasing the comprehensive observation
of the life of children, especially by means of encouraging their
constant desire of activity.

Presented to

German Wives and Maidens,

as a worthy means of celebrating the 400th Anniversary
of the invention of Printing,
for their Consideration and Co-operation.

Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, in the Thuringian Forest,

1st May, 1840.

YE WIVES AND MAIDENS OF GERMANY,¹—

Woman's life and Child's love, Child's life and Woman's sensibility, and in general the childward care and the womanly soul, are only divided by an intellectual discrimination. In essence they are all one. For God has placed the bodily and mental progress and perpetuation of the human race, through childhood, under the control of woman's heart and soul, and of right womanly sensibility. This is a truth as deep-rooted as it is

¹ Froebel's address is simply *Ihr* ("Ye!"), but this form has so entirely passed away (if ever it was in use) that we have ventured to expand it as above.

far-reaching and rich in results. The history of man from the earliest ages to the present day bears witness of it. The poet and the thinker testify to it, the philosopher and the investigator of life acknowledge it. But life, in its manifold development and many-sided culture—often acting against the feelings of the mother, and in opposition to the womanly soul in general, as well as to the contradiction of the needs of the child-life—has brought about, through the giant-strength of external circumstances, an unnatural separation between childhood and woman's life, between womanliness and child-life. Perhaps this separation is but one of the wise decrees of Providence, for thereby the original unity of these two elements is clearly made known; and thereby, moreover, as with every other neglected and lost possession, not only its high value will eventually come to be profoundly realized, but also a vigorous endeavour will be aroused on all sides to bring about once again that original union of woman's life and true childward care which was granted to man by God, through Nature and Mankind. To win this back again must be the first care of all who are true friends of humanity and of the realm of childhood, and who desire the honourable appreciation of woman's soul. For the basis, the start and direction of the whole future life of the man lies in the care of the child, in the earliest watchful childward care by woman's soul and woman's life. Who does not know this? Who does not acknowledge it? Who has not actually experienced it, or at the least has not divined its truth? The following time, the later years of life only give the wider development and the more definite culture. The earliest childward care must therefore be once again given over to women as a part of their lives; woman's life and childward care must in fact be made one, the womanly soul and the enlightened observation of children must once again unite.

To accomplish the aims set forth above, and to meet the claims which so clearly make themselves heard, is certainly one of the most sacred tasks of life. To solve such a problem would be to grant to mankind the most blessed of gifts, for every individual as for the race.

But how is this to be done, in the face of that rupture of the natural and primordial union of these life elements which we see around us on all sides, and against the often irresistible and destructive force of the outward relations of each one's life and business occupation, as a citizen, or as a member of society? How indeed, except by following the path God shows us in Nature and in Life, and by pursuing it to its end; although it is a path hitherto trodden as a way of separation, and leads through a life not natural, but of man's contrivance. Arrived at the end we now turn the path towards its true goal, so as eventually to bring it back once more to the original unity, by means of a bridge or mediating course. Then, having passed along this way, thus contrived with effort, we may at last arrive, with clear self-consciousness and self-determination, at that point at which Nature arrives of herself, all unconsciously and by instinct.

The primordial union of womanly life and motherly life with childhood can only be won back again by a carefully planned mediation between the external relations of women's lives, the civic and social demands upon them, and the claim of the child's being. And such a means of mediation, applicable to all classes of society, and satisfying the demands made by all kinds of social relations, necessitates the training of all kinds of women engaged in minding children, children's nurses, maids, nursery-governesses, and teachers (as well as male teachers and attendants upon children of a somewhat more advanced age), who will mediate or stand between and unite the necessities which press upon the mother's heart—her wishes, cares, and endeavours—and the needs of the children; and their function is to be, to attain, and to give, for the children's benefit, that which the mother, even with the best will in the world, can neither be, attain, nor give.

But it is impossible to mediate in this way (by means of children's maids and nursery governesses), in all states of society, such as the poorer classes, where the force of the struggle for existence thrusts asunder mother's love and childward care; and this is shown by the institutions for the care of the little children of the poor, the *crèches*, etc., which womanly love and motherly

feeling have called into existence. These institutions, however, must be regarded as assuming the midway position between mother and child, not individually but collectively; and for this purpose they also must have cultured governesses and a sufficiency of assistants. In this way this class of claims also is to be satisfied.

To obtain these means of mediation, to work out their preparation, is therefore the next problem to be solved. The need for such a mediation declares itself loudly in all classes and relations of life. How mighty a cry goes up over the cruel want of truly educational and what has been here called mediational care of children; how piercing and often heart-rending is the grief of the earnest educationist, the friend of mankind, and especially the friend of childhood, over the shameful ill-management of the early years of childhood; a mismanagement proceeding partly from ignorance and perversity, partly from carelessness, partly from the distortion, or even the total absence of womanly, child-loving sensibility. In place of development of the child-life we see restraint and repression; in place of encouragement of the innocent and free activity inherited in every child, we see the intentional crippling of its energies; in place of awakened life-powers, we find aptitudes lulled to slumber; in place of an ever-growing vigour, we find an ever-increasing languor; and in place of an uplifting of body and mind towards robust health, we find a deliberate degradation down towards sickly weakness: or else we are confronted with the wild and uncontrollable character which results when children are uncared for and are left altogether to their own impulses. But true watchful care over their little lives we miss altogether; and, in fact, true culture of the child-life and of the incessant childish longing for activity, can be given to the children only with great difficulty; for the most part, therefore, it is not given at all by the poor mothers, harassed as they are by the many conflicting claims of their own life. To assist them in attaining this care of child-life and this culture of childish powers, the mothers shall now be welcome to our outstretched friendly hand. And if the real unsophisticated womanly nature is to be satisfied, and the claims of the child's life are to be fully met, the essential

nature of the instruction of little children and the means needed in its pursuit, must first of all be clearly ascertained ; and the mediating members between mother and child must be carefully trained in their use and application. That is, before all else, women must be educated specially for the care of childhood.

What qualifications should be possessed by such women? Obviously they must be skilled in those things which are common to both mother and child, since they are to play the part of mediators, so that they can take the place of the mother as caring for and instructing her child ; they must therefore be able to lend a hand to the mistress of the house in her housewifely cares, upon emergency, as well as able to relieve her of the burden of watching, attending on, and educating her child. Wherefore such women must be trained in all the work of the house, as well as in the education and care of children.

But how is this to be accomplished? Unquestionably, with every claim of life is given the means of its satisfaction, and every want implies a remedy not far off. Is the need which we express a true one? Then it necessarily follows that at some time or other, nay, in the present time, we can, if we search for it, discover the means of satisfying it. And so it happens here, in very truth.

The conditions to be fulfilled in this case are both inward and outward in their nature.

As regards outward conditions we have already the *crèches*, etc. ; we have also several institutions for training nurses and domestic servants, and finally, we have most vigorous Ladies' Societies for local charities ; but we find here, as always, that the true way to make these powers helpful, either for individual cases or for the general need, is to bring about a vitalizing union of all the agencies, and to form from out various detached or isolated efforts one general organization, complete and interconnected within itself.

As regards inward conditions, we observe that in the soul of every German wife or maiden lies a sympathy, more or less deep, with the being and the well-being of children, joined to a sense of the profound importance of childhood. We are continually meeting with the perception of these feelings amongst womankind,

coupled, for the most part, with a sorrowful recognition of the hindrances to which the mother's love is exposed by the surrounding conditions of her life, which prevent her from devoting herself to her child as she desires ; so that she cannot be to him, or provide for him, what she feels instinctively she ought to be, and ought to provide. We find, indeed, that there arises a longing for the very kind of mediating influence that we have described—for a third power, which shall bridge the gap set by the life of our day between the mother's love and the child's need ; aided—not weakened—by which power the mother's love may, with greater clearness and precision, supply the child's needs. But the necessary force to create this mediating power is wanting, because of the general isolation of agencies. Our duty is therefore to unite the separate agencies, to elevate individual feelings into a universal perception, to organize a common achievement out of what is now the individual desire ; to which purpose we here hold out the hand of fellowship, and indicate the means and the direction by which the movement should proceed.

Now, therefore, we hereby invite all German wives and maidens to unite with right German enthusiasm in founding and developing a *General institution for the complete culture of child-life up to school-age*. We claim their help, in a genuine German spirit, in one common effort to found and develop the *German Kindergarten* (or child-garden). As in a garden, under God's favour, and by the care of a skilled, intelligent gardener, growing plants are cultivated in accordance with Nature's laws, so here, in our child-garden, our *Kindergarten*, shall the noblest of all growing things, *men* (that is children, the germs and shoots of humanity), be cultivated in accordance with the laws of their own being, of God, and of Nature. The path to be followed by such a method of education shall be shown, and its general outline traced. Thus shall this institution attain the purpose for which it is to exist, and fulfil the pressing need which has called it forth ; viz., it shall *educate female and male "gardeners," who will be able to undertake the earliest care and education of childhood*. We invite you to this enterprise with a complete manly confidence in the result, which cannot be shaken or disturbed, because our own long

effort towards this end—an effort continued over many years—has already received encouraging sympathy from many sides, at the hands of the most cultured, the noblest, and at the same time the most simply natural of our German ladies.

The object of our undertaking is to banish, at least from the earliest culture of childhood, all that is undecided and uncertain, and hence destructive or prejudicial, in its operation ; and to base that culture on the eternal principles or laws manifesting themselves in Nature, in the history of man, and by revelation, as well as on the laws of the most rigidly reasoned thought.

German mothers, actively engaged in the midst of our social life, full of feeling, thought, and good sense, will see at once the importance of bringing up from the very earliest development of their intelligence the children whom they themselves have borne with so much pain and care, and whom they have nursed at their own breasts, surrounded by a culture and method of education closely corresponding to their own intuitive desires, hopes, and wishes ; and further, this education must be also connected with, and grow out of, the life granted to the children by God and Nature through these mothers themselves ; and finally, it must be also in harmony with the divine, the human, and the natural elements of childhood.

The first care, the first task, of our undertaking is, then—as has already been said above—the training of women versed in childward care for the various relations and the varying necessities of our social life ; nurses, nursery governesses, and Kindergarten mistresses ; masters and superintendents of both sexes for the service of the beneficent institutions which we have in many places for the care of children—*crèches*, playgrounds, industrial schools, and infant schools ; and this training must be full of a childlike spirit, and imbued with the keen perception of child-nature, cherishing it and lovingly developing it in all ways. Already numerous inquiries have reached us for persons so trained.

Mediating between the life of the mother and of the child, as has been already observed, the two first classes at least, the nurses and nursery governesses, must on the one side be competent in

household work, and must on the other be properly qualified to care for and guide the child. This last condition necessitates the nursery governesses (and, indeed, children's teachers of both sexes) being well grounded in the nature and the course of development of the child, being penetrated with love for children, and being thoroughly acquainted with the needs of child-life and the way to fulfil those needs by means of appropriate watchful care and education; moreover, it implies that they shall be drawn, from their very entrance into their sphere of work, towards the knowledge of Nature, and the close observation of life, and shall be able to guide the child in a corresponding course of education.

On this account the professors of the proposed institution would be chosen from amongst men of the profoundest insight and richest knowledge, quick to perceive and develop the ground-principles of the universe as the principles of their own individual life. And as it requires the most accomplished teachers, so also would the institution require the best educational collections and appliances for its work; such as would enable it to deal with its own sphere of culture, and to connect itself with the next following series of educational institutions.

To attain, as perfectly as possible, the aim of the general scheme of education thus set forth, there must be connected with the institution for training nurses and teachers, an institution for the care of little children, and for teaching them suitable occupations, as, indeed, has been already pointed out; and to this second institution little children of all ages up to school-age should be admitted. In this *Kindergarten*, using the word in its narrowest sense, the students of our training college would prepare themselves for their future vocation, under the guidance of experienced teachers of children, thoroughly imbued with the educational ideas already set forth. The *Kindergarten*, while useful for a practising school for the students, would therefore, at the same time, serve as a normal school to other similar institutions for children, enabling them to imitate its methods.

Now, turning to the subject of the assistance which should be rendered to the mistress of the house, we see that the nurses or nursery governesses must at the same time be receiving their

necessary instruction in the care of all housewifely and domestic affairs, and must have suitable opportunities afforded them for the needful practice of these things. The general domestic concerns of the institution itself would furnish excellent materials and subjects too for these studies, which would be under the care of a firm and enlightened principal, thoroughly skilled in all housewifely matters. And the most accomplished teachers for woman's handiwork, needlework, etc., would also be required, as within the general scope of the educational curriculum. In one word, our institution must not be found wanting on any side, in any phase, of the sphere of culture which has been set forth as worthy to be adopted; and even the culture of Nature herself, especially the care of plants and flowers, must form part of the work.

The great end and aim of the whole undertaking, its object and purpose, finally, is the Education of Man from its earliest beginning, by means of action, feeling, and thought, in complete accord with his own inward being and outward relations, and the development of man into a state of unity with his fellow men, with Nature, and with God in the truest sense of the term—especially, therefore, into thorough and comprehensive unity of life; this to be attained by the right care of child-life, the encouragement of childish activities, the development and formation, culture and presentation of the pure child-nature. Hence, in the scope of such an institution, nothing must be found that is antagonistic to or destructive of such purposes; while, on the other hand, we must search out everything that can contribute to our aims, and bring it, when found, into union with our work. Hence, further, in the general conduct, and even in the appearance of things in such an institution, nothing meaningless or irrational must be found; on the contrary, not only the facts which surround the child, but everything with which he comes in contact, must carry with it some distinctly expressed relation towards a higher unity of life.

However vast may appear the development of such a comprehensive educational unity, embracing our relations with man, with Nature, and with God, nay, however vast it may actually be, it will at the same time provide for the claims and needs of the smallest and simplest life-groups, without defect or excess of cul-

ture, even down to the individual man and his personal relationship, through the living force of the spirit of unity which will dominate the whole. And however laborious may appear the development of so vast an undertaking, the path securely leading thereto has already been in great part blocked out and made level.¹

It lies, namely, in the active, clearly defined co-operation of many persons towards one end and purpose, in trustful union; each of them contributing an amount of money, relatively small, but to be actually paid down at once, and thus collectively providing a fund sufficient for the development of the work they have undertaken in common.

Let the single subscription or share required for the development of the general educational work which has been above proposed to German wives and maidens for their acceptance be ten thalers Prussian currency (about thirty shillings sterling).

And let us suppose that at least a hundred wives and maidens of the more distinguished classes of society at once seize the conception, in the deep significance which has been here shown to belong to it, and in the far-reaching range of beneficent work which lies before it in the future; and suppose that each of them sees it to be so true and so highly important that she not only subscribes her ten thalers for her own share, but also by using her influence amongst her own circle of friends and acquaintances finds ten other wives or maidens whom she can win over to the cause in like manner; then the

Hundred

German wives and maidens, *founders* of the work, at once increase to a

Thousand

German wives and maidens, who actually *begin* the work.

It is quite safe to assume, from the truly human interest and religious spirit of the whole conception, and from the purity of the feelings, and the life full of love towards mankind and towards God, which characterise German women, that either by the direct influence of this thousand subscribers, or at all events

¹ [Note by the German Editor.] For example, in Bern, Switzerland, the Bernese City Girls' School, founded soon after 1830, entirely by municipal funds, and without state help, and so maintained, was felt to be insufficient for the needs of the community. Therefore, in 1836, some of the inhabitants formed themselves into a society, providing funds as shareholders, and founded the Citizens' Girls' School in Bern. Langenthal was invited to become director; and his acceptance of the post was the cause of his breaking with Froebel. Langenthal's successor was Fröhlich. See Fröhlich's speech to the Congress of Teachers at Frankfurt, in 1857, on the subject of girls' schools, reported in the *Rhine News* (*Rheinische Blätter*) of Diesterweg. It contains genuine results of the Pestalozzi-Froebelian method of education, or pedagogy.

by their influence at second-hand or third-hand, 10,000 more German wives and Maidens will be won over to active co-operation in the undertaking. Therefore we have a new series of

Ten Thousand

German wives and maidens who will *carry forward* the work. And this brings us to a total of

Eleven Thousand One Hundred

German wives and maidens engaged in *constructing* the work.

But let us assume that only

Ten Thousand

actually join; and that each of these takes up a single subscription or share of ten Prussian thalers (thirty shillings sterling): then we shall have a total fund of

100,000 Prussian Thalers (£15,000 sterling)

as the capital with which we have to deal.

The actual payment of the money should begin as soon as the establishment of the institution is ready to be proceeded with, and should be arranged in such a way as is most secure for the interests of each shareholder and of the whole body of shareholders, and the instalments should be made easy. Further details on these heads would be given when the subscription list is full, and when the execution of the plan which has been sketched above can become a living reality.

The educational work which has been described would be the permanent possession—ever renewing itself, ever developing itself into greater perfection—of all those German wives and maidens who share in it; and they will have contributed towards the elevation, firstly, of their own German nation, but also, at the same time, in truth, of the whole human race; towards the welfare of their own children, of all German children, yes, and beyond this, of all children whomsoever; towards the peace of their own families, of the entire German family life, and, indeed, of all family life wheresoever it may be; towards a great blessing for their people, for all peoples, for mankind, and so, finally, for the present and for all the future! For the object of this undertaking is twofold: *Firstly*, the realization in as clear and perfect a manner as possible of the fundamental conception of a mode of education based upon the early and complete training of human life, and satisfying the needs of childhood by a genuine encouragement of the spontaneous activity of children, through the medium of a normal institution, or model school, accurately planned for the care of children, for providing them with certain games and with certain occupations; that is the institution which we have symbolically named a KINDERGARTEN. Here the fundamental conception will take on a visible shape, and show its applicability to the realization of our educational intuitions and investigations, and to actual practical work. And the *Second* object is the establishment of an institution for the training of nursery governesses and teachers in the early education of children, according to principles founded upon examination of child-nature, and upon observation and culture of child-life and childish activity.

These two institutions would, each severally, and both in union together, make a complete system under the name of KINDERGARTEN, a name which expresses in a symbolical manner their inmost and deepest meaning.

The capital named above would be applied in the following ways:—

1. The acquisition of the necessary land for the institution ; with room for buildings, courtyard, garden, and playground.

2. The erection of the necessary buildings.

From the sympathy and encouragement which from the first and down to the present time the worshipful Town Council and the honourable citizens of this place¹ have extended towards my ideas, it is to be confidently hoped that they will continue their support to the actual plan now elaborated, so that all business relations will be made easy, and particularly that they will grant a suitable piece of ground and perhaps also sufficient timber for the buildings, as a free gift from the town.

3. The purchase of suitable and necessary furniture and domestic utensils.

4. The purchase of the necessary educational materials, collections of specimens, etc.

5. The secure provision for wages and salaries for the staff and their assistants, the persons in whose hands will lie the training, teaching, and culture to be given, and, in fact, all persons engaged in the institution ; and especially the establishment of an inalienable capital fund whose interest will be applied specially to this purpose.

6. The establishment of a system which will make it possible to carry out some such plan as has already been hinted at, whereby the best instructors shall be obtained in each department of children's education, and not only obtained, but permanently retained in the institution's service, and their future provided for ; therefore, upon their appointment they should become members of a life-insurance corporation, and receive a policy which would assure a maintenance to their family in case of the early death of its head.

The permanence and progressive development of this undertaking will be secured through the general support of the public and the fees of the students, the details of which must be settled later on.

The government of the whole institution will lie with the general body of all the subscribing and supporting wives and maidens, after a manner to be particularized more in detail later on. They will choose from their number presidents and members of council in the way which has been found best and most representative in similar associations of shareholders. A like method will provide treasurers and trustees for the whole scheme. Further regulations would be entrusted to a committee to draw up, after consultation with the persons most thoroughly acquainted with these matters.

A few additional points need special mention.

The first hundred wives and maidens who subscribe towards the undertaking must be always honourably distinguished as its *Founders*, and must be so recorded in the foundation deeds. Therefore a careful and accurate register must be kept of all subscriptions from the opening of the list.

As soon as the first hundred names have been subscribed, the whole undertaking will be submitted to the government of the principality (of Schwarzburg) for approval, and the gracious favour and protection of these high personages solicited.

When the first thousand names have been subscribed in due course, the undertaking shall be set on foot, and especially the building shall at once begin, and the foundation stone of the principal block be laid. Beneath the foundation stone shall be placed, in some way which shall be recognised as the best known way to preserve them imperishably, the names of the hundred

¹ Blankenburg.

Founders, and also the names of the first thousand who *establish* the work, and the names of all the wives and maidens who up to that time have assisted in this establishment, as a permanent memorial of the beginning of the whole work.

The advice of the most experienced German architects will be invited about the buildings, their external and internal arrangement, and the style of their construction, which must depend upon the uses they are to serve.

For the utmost security of the capital, the buildings, furniture, collections, etc., shall all be insured in whatever fire insurance company is accounted the safest.

Since the whole body of the wives and maidens who are subscribers and supporters of the institution are the permanent possessors of the original property which will thus have been created, as well as of all the subsidiary property which will collect around it in the progress of the undertaking, such as materials, tools, furniture, various collections of objects, etc., and, in fact, of the whole undertaking in every part, they are by consequence the sole persons entitled to the net profit or surplus shown after defraying the expenses of maintenance, expansion of the general scope, and of providing for greater and ever greater security of the whole work. In business language this means the payment of dividends in hard cash; but as the aim of the founders of the institution, in creating it, is that it shall continually develop towards a more general understanding of the care of children and a more general provision for satisfactory and complete children's education—especially as relates to children under school age—subscribers will receive the value of those dividends, only in one or more of the following forms:—

1. Use of the institution for purposes of study and culture, for themselves or for others, at an agreed rate, the charge to be debited against the amount of the dividend declared.

2. Use of the collections, especially of the teaching materials and appliances of the institution, also at an agreed rate.

3. Purchase of complete materials for games and occupations for their own use, at agreed rates.

Further advantages to subscribers would be that young persons recommended by them for admission as students would take precedence of others; and so also, if subscribers and non-subscribers applied at the same time to the institution for trained students as nurses, maids, or teachers, the inquiries of subscribers would be attended to first.

But all these advantages, important in themselves and to the individual subscribers as they may be, and as they will become, especially as years go on, are quite inappreciable when compared with the advantage which will arise to mankind from the embodiment of the idea itself, the establishment and working-out of the unifying thought which lies at the root of the whole undertaking. For the starting point, the centre, and the closing point of the whole scheme, that which determines and organizes all the influences and lines of force radiating from these points and returning again to them, is the idea which gives life to the whole, the thought which is the basis of the whole, the conception,

namely, of the essential Unity of all Life, the certain truth of which makes itself spontaneously manifest in the actions of men's lives, in their purest feeling, and in their clearest thinking. This Unity, this certain basis of all life, is God ; or as the more usual statement of this truth puts it—God is the Father of all mankind. Men must therefore bestir themselves to be truly God's children, to live their lives as such. Before all else must we strive to educate, by all the various modes of development, our fellow men, our children ; using as our point of departure the cherishing and encouragement of their craving for incessant activity in movement, in thought, and in creative actions ; so that they may raise into an object of firm belief, and may thus bring actually into view, and make manifest in elevated feelings and noble actions, the longing of the human soul for a life at one with Nature and Humanity, and, above all and beyond all, with God ! Wherefore—

“ Let us live for our Children ! ”

We have felt irresistibly impelled at this time of the festival of the 400th anniversary of the invention of printing to issue this invitation and to make this appeal ; for the event we are commemorating is not only of the highest importance to mankind in general, and to Germans in particular, but appeals in a special manner to the world of German women and of children. For without this discovery how and where could the culture and the condition of women's lives have been improved ? how could all their separate needs, claims, and desires have been known without this art, which collects them into one universal statement, and raises them to a possession shared in by all ? and especially, how should we have fared with the education of children and the care of childhood in general, and with those of German children in particular ? Wherefore it behoves the whole community of German women to feel thankful for this beneficial invention, and to express their thanks in some practical form upon this high and festal occasion. Such thankfulness, and such a practical proof thereof, is necessary, as would be shown in causing the gracious

benefit, the divine gift of unity of spirit and of Life, whose appreciation has been so wonderfully aided by this invention of printing, to flow, at the earliest possible moment, over the childhood of mankind. We need a new mode of childward care, conceived in this spirit and working from the earliest years towards this goal; we need a new method of education for mankind, to be begun in his earliest years; and by consequence we hold the carrying out of the plan set forth above as the most appropriate and satisfactory manner, the most worthy and permanent, the fullest of blessing and of progressive force, in which the collective wives and maidens of Germany can celebrate this festival of the 400th anniversary of the invention of printing. We once more invite them with confidence, therefore, to join in this undertaking; nay, we boldly claim their support in establishing this work, penetrated as we are with its inmost truth and deepest importance; and we dare go further, and affirm our belief, at this time of the Jubilee Festival of Printing, that this invention can scarcely be put to a work of more lasting importance and of more blessed influence than the printing of the foundation-deeds of the proposed universal, unifying work of German wives and maidens in the training and care of children.

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

Blankenburg, near Rudolstadt, in the Thuringian Forest.

1st May, 1840.

As the idea which lies at the root of the above sketch immediately excited the general interest of a rather large meeting, to which it was submitted as a preliminary test; and as it called forth a general feeling that it was an idea which must find great favour, particularly amongst women, because of its nature and because of the special circumstances of the time of its appearance, and would therefore immediately take on the practical form of subscriptions for shares, it was considered necessary that the majority of those present favourable to the idea should form an association for its support until some general statement could be laid before the honourable subscribers themselves, on the basis of which statement the method for proceeding further in the matter could be determined, and be then submitted to them in some public manner.

All notices about the matter bear the signature of the—

“Society for Promoting an Educational Undertaking by the
Work of German Wives and Maidens ;”

and similarly all communications (which should be postage-paid) should be
addressed to the—

“Society for Promoting, etc., etc., Blankenburg, near Rudol-
stadt, Principality of Schwarzburg.”

FRIEDRICH WILHELM WITZ, Burgomaster,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

WILHELM MIDDENDORFF.

J. BAROP.

Blankenburg and Keilhau,

12th March, 1840.

PART III.

PROPAGATION AND EXTENSION.

PROPAGATION AND EXTENSION.

INTRODUCTION.¹

I.

Froebel's Propaganda for his Kindergarten.

WHAT agencies were set in motion by Froebel to propagate and extend his ideas far and wide? The answer to this question is necessary for the right understanding of these letters; and therefore our next task must be to set it forth. The basis of Froebel's work after 1837 is the development of his wonderfully acute invention, or discovery as we ought rather to call it, of a complete course of games and occupations for the Kindergarten, that is to say, the working out of its material side. The games and occupations which he had created in the silence of solitude, often with locked doors, living the life of a hermit, now had to be carefully illustrated and made plain by lithographs and directions, to be packed up by the work-people at his Kindergarten Factory (*Beschäftigungs-Anstalt*), and pushed in a mercantile way. The gifts thus made their way through the toy-shops to the children in the bosoms of their families; and this purely mercantile method was the first form of Froebel's propaganda. And also Froebel's own travelling trunk at this time was never unprovided with sets of his gifts, etc., which he required for his demonstrations.

Whilst the joiner diligently plied his plane, making building-cubes after Froebel's models, Froebel with almost unwearied energy wielded the pen as letter writer and essayist. His writings constitute the second form of his propaganda. Their mass is such that it has hardly been yet thoroughly looked through, and the present collection of letters is but a small sample of the correspondence which he conducted, chiefly in the interest of his

¹ By the German Editor, Herr Poesche.

system. Articles of larger or smaller dimensions were contributed by him to his three periodical publications, the *Sunday Journal* (*Sonntagsblatt*), 1838;¹ the *Weekly Journal of Education* (*Wochenschrift*, etc.), 1850; and the *Journal for Friedrich Froebel's Educational Aims* (*Zeitschrift*, etc.), 1851; and as for independent literary works, we have the little books of "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs" (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), the "Hundred Ball-game Songs," etc.; the publication of which, by the way, took almost all his means and brought him into great financial uncertainty. Whatever Froebel had learnt by study, or during his wanderings, and had brought into a practical or literary form, now found its value and application in the Kindergarten, his own special field of work. If he heard that one Kindergarten child had said to another child not yet in the Kindergarten, "Oh, do come with me to the Kindergarten!" he was highly delighted; and these children who were themselves so happy in the Kindergarten that they were always inviting others to enter, he rightly used to call his best and most successful propagandists. At the time of Froebel's death (1852) there were at least twenty-five Kindergartens. In the spring of 1848, in a letter to Ida Seele, he enumerated "sixteen genuine and recognised Kindergartens." Institutions for the care of children, under male direction, he had founded as early as 1839 in Dresden, where Frankenberg, formerly a teacher at Keilhau, was the principal, and early during "the forties" in Frankfurt, with Hochstetter and Schneider as principals. But these first "sixteen genuine Kindergartens" seem to demand special record here. They are as follows:—

Blankenburg: June, 1840.

Rudolstadt: Dec., 1840.

Gera²: Jan., 1841 (Madame Schmidt).

¹ As some authorities (e.g., Henschmann) give 1837 as the date of the commencement of the *Sonntagsblatt*, while Froebel always gives 1838, we applied to Madame Froebel on the point. She informs us that the first number was written in 1837, but not published till 1838. It continued till 1840.

² Not 1840, as the German Editor gives it, for see Letter VII. to Madame Schmidt, Part I., of 30th Jan., 1841.

Darmstadt : 1844 (Ida Seele. Later on a preparatory school for boys and girls was added, under two of Froebel's Kindergarten students, Henriette Ackermann and Therese Langguth).

Quetz : 1846¹ (Pastor Hildenhagen and his sister-in-law, Amalie Krüger, one of Froebel's Kindergarten students).

Homburg : 1847 (Privy Councillor Müller's wife).

Dresden : 1847 (Luise Frankenberg, Kindergarten of the Women's Charitable Institution).

Gratz : 1847 (Ida Weider).

Marienberg : 1847 (Auguste Steiner).

Annaburg : 1847 (Anna Hesse).

Hildburghausen : 1847 (Amalie Henne).

Zöblitz : 1847 (Herr Kromer, certificated teacher).

Lünen : 1847 (Marie Christ).

Gotha : 1847 (Herr August Köhler).

Erfurt : March, 1848 (Auguste Michaelis).²

Hamburg : May, 1848 (Alwine Middendorff in Madame Doris Lütken's School).

In Upper Ingelheim and Gaisburg, near Stuttgart (Principal, the wife of Privy Legation Councillor von Pistorius), Froebel introduced his occupations into the children's *crèches* already established there ; but Kindergartens, strictly so called, did not yet exist there in 1848.

Of these first centres of Kindergarten work, those in the west (Frankfurt and Darmstadt), probably through the narrowing influence of Fölsing,³ showed themselves the least fruitful in the

¹ This no doubt should be 1846 (not 1847, as the German Editor gives it), for Froebel says, in Letter XIX. to Madame Schmidt, in Part I., that he went to Quetz in June, 1847, to hold a children's festival at the Kindergarten, then already a year old.

² No relation to Madame Michaelis, one of the translators and editors of this book. The date of opening is as above, and not 1847, as in the German edition ; for see p. 241. Of the teachers named in this list, Madame Michaelis knew well Ida Seele, from whom she received lessons in the gifts, and whose Kindergarten in Berlin (founded after Mlle. Seele's marriage with Herr Vogeler), she often visited ; and Amalie Krüger, who was at that time teaching the practical occupations under the Berlin *Erziehungs Verein*, founded by the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bilow, who herself taught the theory of education there.

³ See the Introduction to Part IV. We may also add an interesting and

true spirit of Froebel and the least active in propaganda work. The Prussian Kindergartens (Annaburg, Erfurt and Lünen), were crushed by a decree of the Prussian Minister, Von Raumer (7th August, 1851). On the other hand, Dresden, Hamburg, Gratz and Gotha had a most successful career, of which more anon.

To his published method or *praxis* of the Kindergarten Froebel added personal training of Kindergarten teachers by a definite course of instruction in a Training College; and his students became the most effective means for preserving and extending his ideas. Froebel knew right well that it would be so, and consequently he not only gave regular courses in Blankenburg, Keilhau, Liebenstein (1849) and Marienthal (1850-1852), but as a travelling teacher, or in a certain measure as a peripatetic philosopher, he gave courses, followed by valuable results, in Dresden (winter of 1848-49), and in Hamburg (winter of 1849-50).

His fourth method of propaganda was to throw open from time to time the doors of his study, of the Kindergarten and of the class-rooms of the Training College, and to go out amongst the people along with the children, Kindergarten students, professors and other friends, and there to give a specimen of the practical side of his work in a festival of games and youthful sports conducted on a large scale. Examples of this are the festival at Quetz, near Halle (25th July, 1847), that held on the common at Rudolstadt (18th August, 1848), and that held on the Altenstein, near the Liebenstein Spa (3rd July, 1850). As to the last-named festival, I can bear witness from my own personal observation, of the deep roots it struck, and the powerful effect produced by it amongst the people in favour of Froebel's system.

Froebel reaped less reward from his fifth method of propaganda, the founding of Educational Associations, as in 1845, at Eichfeld, Schwarza, Kirchhasel, Rudolstadt and Saalfeld. Genu-

valuable anecdote as to this in one of Ida Seele's charming Reminiscences of Froebel, in the Viennese journal, *Kindergarten*, April, 1888. A cat ran up a tree in the midst of a group of children being taught by Fölsing. Froebel, who stood by, hurriedly whispered, "Connect your game with the cat," for he saw that pussy possessed every child's attention at that moment. But Fölsing not only disregarded the hint, but took offence at the interruption.

ine leaders and qualified guides of such associations were wanting in these small places, and consequently they dwindled away directly Froebel withdrew his personal co-operation. But Froebel himself, judging from his Swiss experiences, set great store by these Educational Associations. Thus he writes in December, 1847, to Felsberg :—"The Kindergarten and Educational Associations unite with the festivals of children's games and youthful sports to form, in my opinion, the fundamental harmony, the all-uniting triad or common-chord, of the elevation of the People, the Fatherland, and the Family. Therefore are they to be cherished above everything."

From time to time Froebel would call together his colleagues, teachers, and friends in "Teachers' Meetings" to examine and further develop his system, as in 1848 at Rudolstadt, and 1851 at the Liebenstein Spa. Thither would come the Kindergarten teachers to interchange their knowledge, their experience, their observation, under learned and highly placed educationists (such as Dr. Peter, Dr. Diesterweg, etc.); and to work diligently and enthusiastically for several days together under the eye and personal direction of the master himself. Could there be a more intensely powerful means than this for the propagation of his educational system?

And finally, the sixth method must be referred to and extolled; Froebel's extraordinary activity in sowing the seed broadcast when on his journeys. Every year he left his home several times to enlist recruits by his games, his publications, his inspiring addresses; to delight children, to call Kindergartens, Educational Associations, and the like, into existence :—as, for example, on his great journey into the regions of the Rhine, Main, and Neckar, in 1844. And when, with deeply stirred sympathy, we contemplate these many journeys taken in support of "The Idea," at a pecuniary sacrifice, and in a manner unselfish and unassuming to a most unusual degree, we are involuntarily reminded of other sublime leaders in the past, and a well-known text comes into our mind: "Behold, a sower went forth to sow." Thus went Froebel forth, and over all Germany he diligently scattered the seed of his Kindergarten ideas.

II.

Extension of the Kindergarten since Froebel's death (1852).

Since Froebel's death what has been done down to the present day, in the way of spreading the Kindergarten system, in the various modes of propaganda we have indicated above, by Froebel's friends and students, male and female : how much have they accomplished ?

The *Kindergarten Factory*, as Froebel established it in Blankenburg, after his creative spirit, to fulfil the functions of providing the materials for his system, is now at work, at least in a merely imitative fashion, in almost every large town in Germany : and what Froebel's assistants had with great pains to produce by the labour of their hands is now made easily and in large quantities by machinery, and then sold in the ordinary mercantile way.

The *Letters* which Froebel wrote with his own hand, and to individual persons, are now rendered available to the whole reading public through the Press, like the present collection, and are sent out into the world as independent works to aid in the propaganda.

The *Educational publications*, large and small, even the Nursery Songs (*Koselieder*) have been often republished and re-edited, explained, and collected, and have been translated into many foreign languages, forming now a sort of Polyglot Propaganda of the Kindergarten—in short, it may be said in sober earnestness, that we have a Froebel Library. Besides, there are two periodicals specially devoted to the Froebelian system, the *Kindergarten*, published by A. Pichler's widow and son, in Vienna, and the *Education of To-day* (*Erziehung der Gegenwart*), published by Wigand, in Kassel ; and these work with excellent results for the Froebelian propaganda.¹

Teachers' Meetings.—One general meeting, for all Germany and many provincial ones, are held regularly every year, and at

¹ We may add to Herr Poesche's list the *Swiss Kindergarten* (*Schweizerische Kindergarten*), published by Zollikofer, in St. Gall, which we are surprised that he overlooked, as it is now in its seventh year (estab. 1883).

these there are sure to appear some genuine disciples of Froebel, who warmly bear witness to the justice, the deep significance, and the progressive character of the master's views.

Froebelian Children's Festivals are held in the open air at Berlin and many another town during the fine months of the year: but we must admit that they no longer have the large character and deep impressiveness Froebel knew how to give them.

The journeys which Froebel used to make have been continued by the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, who has compassed sea and land to make proselytes.

Finally, *Educational Associations, Kindergartens, and Training Colleges* for Kindergarten students, the three great means of the propagation and extension of Froebelian ideas, are now spread all over the entire world. As far as my knowledge permits, I will proceed to give a short statistical abstract of the work being done by these three chief elements of the propaganda.

(A) GERMANY.

(a) *Central Germany.*

The cradle of the Kindergarten movement was in Central Germany; at Blankenburg, in the principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. Froebel's system has struck deepest root in this middle part of Germany, in Schwarzburg, Reuss, Saxony and Hesse, and above all, in Thuringia; and here the Kindergartens are at their thickest. It has a deep meaning, therefore, and is full of an intense expressiveness, that single word "FROEBEL," which one sees hewn in great letters on the face of the granite cliffs which overhang the bridle path over the Glockner mountain.

But now to the statistics.

1. Froebel's first German Kindergarten at Blankenburg in the Schwarz Valley broke down, but by means of a large subscription¹ it was refounded as a "Living Memorial to Froebel" (Miss Eleonore Heerwart).

¹ In which the present editors collected at Croydon, £8 8s., and the Froebel Society of London gave £16 16s., the proceeds of a concert. Other English men and women subscribed separately; but the total amount sent from England was felt at the time to be unworthy of our nation.

Also Rudolstadt possesses once more a municipal Kindergarten, the only one of its kind in Thuringia.

2. In the principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen there is one Kindergarten, at Sondershausen itself (established by the late Mlle. Thekla Naveau).

3. In the principality of Reuss (younger branch) at Gera are a Kindergarten and a Kindergarten Training College (Herr Elm, Government certificated teacher; established by the late Madame Schmidt, Froebel's cousin).

4. In the principality of Reuss (older branch), there is a Kindergarten at Greiz.

5. In the Duchy of Saxe-Meiningen Froebel had a Kindergarten and a Training College at the Liebenstein Spa (1849), which were transferred later on to Marienthal, a place not far from the first. He received valuable support from the teachers in Salzungen, especially from the late Herr Maurer. At this day in the Meiningen duchy we have Kindergartens at Meiningen, Hildburghausen, Saalfeld, Schalkau (founded by the late Joh. Stangenberger, certificated teacher) Pössneck, and Camburg.

6. In the Duchy of Saxe-Altenburg there is a Kindergarten at Altenburg.

7. In the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Gotha was formerly a central point for Froebelian work, under the late August Köhler. Kindergartens now flourish at Gotha, Waltershausen, and Gräfen-tonna.

8. In the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar we have Weimar, which has now become the centre of Froebelian work for Thuringia, with its Kindergarten and Training College, founded by the late Herr Schmidt,¹ certificated teacher, and now under the direction of the teacher at the Charitable Institute (*Stiftslehrer*), Herr Friedrich Seidel,¹ and Mlle. Mina Schellhorn. Weimar is the home of the National Froebel Association of Germany." Besides this, in the state of Weimar we find another Training College, and several Kindergartens, in Eisenach (Mlle.

¹Respectively the past and present editors of the journal *Kindergarten*, published at Vienna.

Möder), and also in Jena (Madame Horn), Apolda, Weida, Neustadt, Buttstedt (founded by the late Pastor Steinacker), Allstedt, Blankenhain, etc.

9. The kingdom of Saxony at present leads the world in Kindergarten affairs, and Dresden, the modern Florence on the Elbe, has risen to be in a certain sense the headquarters of the movement, being the home of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow,¹ and of the International "Educational Association," possessing a Training College and many Kindergartens. Amongst

¹ The Baroness Bertha von Marenholtz-Bülow is, by universal consent, the present head of the Froebelian movement. She is, of all the living disciples who have enjoyed the personal teaching of the master, the one who has most thoroughly imbibed the spirit of his principles, who has made the greatest sacrifices for the sake of advancing his work, and who has achieved the most striking successes. Beyond this she is the only living intimate friend of Froebel left to us, except Madame Luise Froebel; and, apart from her own large acquirements, has in Froebelian traditions an authority, therefore, superior to that of all others, since she represents in her person that devoted band of earlier students and friends who in the last years of the great teacher were admitted to the fullest communion in his thoughts and plans.

Madame von Marenholtz is of the Von Bülow family (and it is usual to add her own family name to that of her husband, the Baron [Freiherr] von Marenholtz), and therefore both by birth and marriage belongs to the highest aristocracy of the Duchy of Brunswick. At the time she met Froebel she was already about forty, and while as yet not particularly distinguished in educational work, had always taken great interest in the subject. Visiting the Liebenstein Spa in May, 1849, and going to her usual lodging, the Baroness heard from her landlady of "an old man who had come a week or two before to the farm near by, who played and danced with the village children, and whom the villagers had nicknamed *The Old Fool*." A few days later she met the man so described, a tall lean figure, with long grey hair, at the head of a troop of children from the village, mostly barefoot, and but scantily clothed, three to eight years old; these he led, marching two and two, up a little hill, and there he set them to play, teaching them the song which belonged to the game." In these well-remembered words, which open her interesting "Reminiscences of Friedrich Froebel," Madame von Marenholtz vividly depicts her introduction to the man in whose work she was to become the most ardent co-operator. Addressing him after the game was over, and manifesting her great interest, she was at once invited by Froebel to visit his class of Kindergarten students, fourteen in number, amongst them his own great-niece, Henriette Breymann (Madame Schrader). What she there learnt so powerfully interested her that she at once threw herself into the movement, working as diligently as any of the actual students. It was not long before she induced her friend, the famous educationist Diesterweg, to join her at Liebenstein; and though he at first disliked the idea of mixing up play and study, he soon found that Froebel's view of play was a far higher one than his own, and could be, and was in fact, synonymous with study; and from coolness he

the Dresden Froebelians we count Herr Bruno Marquardt, Dr. Paul Hohlfeldt, Herr W. Schröder, Mlle. Marschner, and the late Herr Frankenberg. Leipzig, with one Training College and seven Kindertgarts, follows worthily after Dresden (Madame Goldschmidt, Mlle. A. Hartmann). Elsewhere in the kingdom we find Kindertgarts at Chemnitz (Director Holscher) Plauen, Löbau, Krimmitschau, Glauchau, Grimma, Zittau, Reichenbach, in the Voigtland, Seifhennersdorf, Freiberg, and Frankenberg.

passed swiftly to an enthusiasm equal to that of Madame von Marenholtz, attending Froebel's classes daily, and soon sending one of his daughters as a permanent student. The next year, 1850, the Baroness again spent the summer at Liebenstein, and now found her friend and his students all comfortably established, through her own good offices with the Duke of Meiningen, in the duke's country house of Marienthal, about half an hour's distance away. Here many educationists came to observe the new movement, and in her "Memories," Madame von Marenholtz mentions several by name, amongst them Herr Poesche, the German Editor of this book. In 1851 Madame von Marenholtz was present at Froebel's (second) wedding on Whit-Tuesday, at Liebenstein, and stayed on through the summer working with him. Many times Froebel charged her solemnly to carry on his work, popularise it, make it intelligible to the "great ones of the earth," and divest people of the absurd prejudices which existed against it. His fears were not groundless, for Madame von Marenholtz, when dining one day with the duke of Meiningen, at Altenstein, in August, 1851, was shown the fatal number of *Voss's Gazette*, containing the Prussian Government's order of prohibition issued against Kindertgarts. At first she thought it a joke of the Duke's, as his Highness loved to tease her on her educational hobby, but she soon realised the truth, and at once undertook the task of breaking the news to Froebel, who had heard nothing of it. He bore the blow very bravely, but it undoubtedly struck home. With an enthusiastic nature like his, such a defeat must have been almost overwhelming; he died within a year. But the immediate results were in one sense gratifying; for all those who had perceived the value of Froebel's views united to bring about a great "Kindergarten Conference," which was held on September 27th, at Liebenstein, Diesterweg in the chair, and of which Madame von Marenholtz has fortunately given us a most graphic account. Madame von Marenholtz tried hard to get the evil law of prohibition repealed, even obtaining a personal interview with the Queen of Prussia for that purpose; but at the time it was all in vain, and the law remained thus for about ten years. In 1852 the Baroness, the better to pursue her studies of Froebel's ideas, had arranged to reside actually in the Liebenstein Kindergarten itself, so as to have children perpetually under her eyes, as well as daily paying long visits to the master in the neighbouring Marienthal; but family affairs and illness detained her in Berlin so long, that ten days before she reached Liebenstein, Froebel had passed away (21st June, 1852). The physician at the baths told her, when she sought for details of his last days, that he had never seen any one look death in the face so cheerfully and calmly as Froebel; and drew a pretty picture of the dying man, smilingly listening to

10. The Prussian province of Saxony rivals the kingdom in its culture of the Kindergarten idea. In Halle is a Kindergarten and Training College (Mlle. Sellheim), and there are three Kindertartens at Erfurt, two others at Langensalza and Nordhausen, near Mühlhausen, as well as Kindertartens at Kelbra, Bleicherode, Ellrich, Naumburg, Weissenfels (two), Lützen, Merseburg, Eisleben, Zeitz, Magdeburg, Schönebeck, Buckau, Halberstadt (Mlle. Puhlmann), Quedlinburg.

the song of the birds outside his open window, and glancing for the last time at the beautiful landscape he loved so well. In these days of sorrow, Midendorff, who took up Froebel's work from his failing hand, reminded Madame von Marenholtz that her first duty lay, for so Froebel had defined it, in spreading information of the Kindergarten in foreign lands. Accepting this onerous bequest, after properly fitting herself for its fulfilment, Madame von Marenholtz favoured our country by making it her first point of attack. She came to London in 1854-5, delivering lectures and otherwise working at the Froebelian propaganda for six months. At this time the only Kindergarten actually at work, the Baroness tells us in "Work and the new Education" (or "Hand-work and Headwork," as Miss Christie translates it), was at Hampstead. We regret that the utmost diligence has failed to obtain further particulars of this small Hampstead Kindergarten. From England she went to Paris in 1855, and started a still more vigorous campaign, diligently attempting to convert August Comte amongst others. In 1857-8 Madame von Marenholtz went to Belgium, and here found Madame Guillaume's Kindergarten already flourishing; and with so good a basis to work upon, she won great and practical successes, which have borne lasting fruit. Even in 1857 she found means to persuade the Belgian authorities to allow her to introduce Froebelian occupations into the infant schools. The year 1859 finds this ever-vigilant apostle of the Kindergarten in Holland, enlisting fresh disciples and encouraging those who had already embraced the new ideas, such as Madame van Calcar. The Kindertartens in Holland struck Madame von Marenholtz as the best she had hitherto seen, a result which certainly was greatly due to the efforts of Madame van Calcar. In 1860 Madame von Marenholtz was hard at work in Switzerland, lecturing at Geneva, Neufchatel and Lausanne, and the great work at Geneva sprang directly from her lectures there. In 1861, as the prohibition against the Kindergarten was at last removed in Prussia, she herself aiding largely to effect this, she began giving courses of lectures at Berlin, a practice which soon grew into a regular annual work with her, Madame Michaelis (one of the present editors) having been privileged to follow one of these courses in 1863 in addition to working with the distinguished educationist in private. It was in this year (1863) that Madame von Marenholtz founded the "Education Society" (*Erziehungs-Verein*) of Berlin. Such continued labours might seem to imply the possession of unusual strength, but it was in fact against constant ill health that Froebel's devoted friend had to struggle, and every summer saw her necessarily taking the waters at some bath or other, such as the Liebenstein Spa, where she had so happily met her beloved master. In the summer of 1870 Madame von Marenholtz gave over her

11. In the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau, Kassel has always been a principal stronghold for the Kindergarten. Here is published *The Education of To-day* (*Erziehung der Gegenwart*), edited by Dr. G. Wittmer and published by Geo. Wigand ; and an Educational Association flourishes under the protecting ægis of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow (Herr Boss, certificated teacher, and the late Madame Schwarzenberg), and a Kindergarten. There are Hessian Kindergartens also in Marburg, Eschwege, Hersfeld, Fulda, Hanau, Frankfurt, and Wiesbaden.

12. In the southern part of the Prussian province of Hanover we find Kindergartens at Hanover (Madame Lindner), Göttingen, Eimbeck, Verden, Helmstädt, and Hildesheim. In the northern part, which has just begun to awake to the merits of the Kindergarten system, Lüneburg (one Kindergarten and two "Learn and Play" classes, Herr Cassau, certificated teacher) and Emden (Pastor L. Pannenberg Viétor) have interested themselves greatly in Kindergarten methods.

13. Froebelian work in the Duchy of Brunswick boasts of several most remarkable ladies : the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow (whose ancestral estate is at Küblingen,) Madame

Berlin work to the able hands of Madame Schrader, and removed her main sphere of operations to Dresden, where she founded a "General Society of Education" (*Allgemeine Erziehungs Verein*), and a journal, the *Education of To-day* (*Erziehung der Gegenwart*), and gave regular courses of lectures, as at Berlin. In 1871 Madame von Marenholtz travelled by way of Vienna to Italy, lecturing and holding meetings ; and in 1871 and 1872 she visited Venice, Florence, Rome, and Verona with the happiest results. In 1874 she was permanently back at Dresden, where she has ever since given her whole time and strength to forwarding the purpose of her life. In 1882, at the festival held in Dresden to commemorate the centenary of Froebel's birth, Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow received at the hands of Professor Adolfo Pick a most beautiful album, the joint gift of all the Italian Kindergartens, which owed their being to her ; but her health had already begun to fail so rapidly that she was unable to play the prominent part in the festival to which her great position entitled her. Since that time she has lost her sight, and has been quite unable to do actual teaching, but her interest remains unabated, and from time to time she is able still to influence the Froebelian movement by her devoted amanuensis, her niece, Mlle. von Bülow. This brief account of a most distinguished career has, we think, justified our opening sentence, that the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow is beyond cavil the present head of the Froebelian movement.

Henriette Schrader, *née* Breymann¹ (Froebel's grand-niece, born at Watzum), and the late Madame Wiseneder, in Brunswick, inventor of the "Musical Kindergarten"² (Mlle. Hauer, and the late Mlle. Vorast, teachers). In the duchy are also Kindergartens at Wolfenbüttel and New Watzum.

14. In the Duchy of Anhalt there has been a Training College and Kindergarten since 1864 at Köthen (Dr. Karl Schmidt's Institute),³ and there are also Kindergartens at Dessau, Zerbst, and Bernburg.

¹ Henriette Breymann was the daughter of the pastor of Watzum, where she and the other ladies of her family conducted a Ladies' School. When she had fully studied the Kindergarten system, which she did at Marienthal with her great-uncle himself, in the last training course (*Bildungscursus*) he ever gave, she added to the school the Kindergarten referred to above. Afterwards, in 1863-4, she went to Geneva, where the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow had excited much interest in the movement by one of her missionary expeditions; and here, Mlle. Lagier and Madame Landesmann with friends providing the necessary funds, Mlle. Breymann established the well-known "Jardin d' Enfants," in the Chantpoulet quarter. Subsequently she returned to Watzum, giving over the direction of the Geneva Kindergarten to one whose name is no less inseparably connected with the history of the Kindergarten than her own, namely, to the Baroness Adèle von Portugall. Madame de Portugall was taught by Mlle. Breymann and Madame von Marenholtz. During this sojourn of Madame Schrader's at Geneva, one of us (Madame Michaelis) had the great pleasure of first making her acquaintance. After her marriage, a few years later, Madame Schrader went to Berlin. Here, again, she found a vigorous Kindergarten movement in process, started by Madame von Marenholtz. Possessed now of ample leisure, Madame Schrader threw herself into the work with all her remarkable energy, and that knowledge which amounts to positive genius. The extraordinary impetus she has given to the Froebelian system in Berlin has already been referred to (see the Introduction to Part II. "Pestalozzi-Froebel-House"); and she is justly regarded as the head of the whole movement in North Germany. Her sister, Mlle. Marie Breymann, was by the testimony of all who knew her, one of the best Kindergarten teachers who ever existed, and her early death was felt as a severe blow to the cause.

² In this "Musical Kindergarten" Madame Wiseneder had, amongst other things, a childish orchestra of toy instruments, carefully tuned to harmonise together; and produced effects in this manner which were not only extremely charming, but were truly educational.

³ Dr. Karl Schmidt's valuable "History of Education" ("*Gesch. der Päd.*") is probably known to all our readers. He was a friend and pupil of Froebel (at Keilhau); and the account of the master which he gives in his History is perhaps, on the whole, the best we have. Besides the well-known History, Dr. Karl Schmidt has written many other educational works.

(b) North Germany.

Turning northwards we come upon the great plain of North Germany.

1. Berlin, the capital of the empire, stands far beyond all other places of this region in the splendid work it has done on the true lines and in the true spirit of Froebel ; which, indeed, has already been shown in the present book (see Introduction to Part II. and elsewhere). Under the auspices of the Froebel Society (Professor Dr. Pappenheim, Dr. Angerstein, Herr Reincke, Inspector of Schools, Madame Wiener, Mlle. Schäfer, and others) there are a Training College, a Children's Governesses' Institution, a People's Kindergarten, and seven other Kindergartens. We have already spoken of the other great Berlin Froebel Society, that of "South-west Friedrichstadt," and of its work (Madame Henriette Schrader, Madame Bertha Meyer). There are several independent courses of lectures for training Kindergarten students, for instance, those of Herr Georgens, those of Mlle. Schulz, etc., and several local associations and private schools conduct Kindergartens. Also, many families unite together to make what are called Family Kindergartens. In many *crèches* Kindergarten teachers are engaged ; many families have Kindergarten teachers as Mothers' Helps, etc., while in other families Kindergarten teachers attend at stated hours (as morning-governesses, etc., to undertake the education of the children. It is scarcely possible to give with any accuracy the numbers of the Kindergartens in Berlin. Musshacke's Calendar for 1868 enumerated eight Kindergartens (belonging to one or other of the two great Societies), nine People's Kindergartens, and nineteen private Kindergartens. If we add to these the Family Kindergartens, we may safely say that there are at present about fifty Kindergartens in Berlin.

In the Mark of Brandenburg¹ our especial notice is drawn to the Kindergarten under the protection of the Dowager-Empress Frederick (Princess Royal of England), who herself founded it at

¹ The province of which Berlin is the chief town.

Bornstädt. There is also a Kindergarten at Brandenburg, besides another at Wriezen, near Frankfurt on the Oder.

2. Next to Berlin, the most flourishing Kindergartens are found at Breslau, in the province of Silesia. Here we find a Kindergarten Association (Mlle. Asch), with a Training College (Rector Pflüger, Dr. Neefe), a Kindergarten Governesses' Institution, and twelve Kindergartens under the Association. In Görlitz also is a Kindergarten (Herr Albin Finster). Herr Von Schenkendorf here works in a most enthusiastic manner at the development of Kindergarten occupations into technical exercises as preparation for actual handicrafts. Besides this there are in Silesia two Kindergartens in Beuthen, and one in Ratibor.

3. In the Prussian province of Posen (Prussian Poland) there are a Training College and a Kindergarten at Bromberg (the late Dr. Deinhardt and Herr Gossmann, certificated teacher), and also Kindergartens in Posen itself, and in Polish Lissa.¹

4. In the Prussian Provinces of West and East Prussia the respective capitals, Danzig and Königsberg, each have Kindergartens; and besides these there is a Kindergarten at Dirschau, in West Prussia, and another in East Prussia, on the extreme eastward frontier of the kingdom, at Lötzen, in Masuren, where is also a Ladies' Association. In the province of Pomerania I only know of one Kindergarten, that at Roslin.

5. In the Mecklenburg duchies are at least five Kindergartens, two at Rostock (Herr Daun), and one each at Wismar (Bernhardt Schlotterbeck), Güstrow and Schwerin.

6. In the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein is a Kindergarten Training College at Altona (Heinrich Hoffmann), and another Kindergarten at Flensburg.

7. The free imperial town of Hamburg is another great centre of Froebelian work. It boasts of several Ladies' Associations (Madame Wüstenfeld, the late Johanna Goldschmidt, the late Dr. Wichard Lange, the late Madame Doris Lützens, and the

¹ Famous ground in the eyes of educationists, as the dwelling-place of the great Comenius (Johann Amos "of Comnia," Moravia), where he wrote and published in 1631 the "*Janua Linguarum Reserata*," and where, in 1648, he also published his "*Novissima Methodus Linguarum*."

Councillor of Education, Theodor Hoffmann) one Training College, one Nurse's Institution, six City Kindergartens, which are under municipal management, two other public Kindergartens, and about twenty-nine private ones.¹

8. Lastly, the free imperial town of Bremen has three Kindergartens in the town proper, one in Bremerhafen, and another in Vegesack.

(c) *South Germany.*

In South Germany the ideas of Froebel have hitherto attained comparatively little influence.

1. In the south-west, in the Prussian province of Westphalia and the Rhine province, I only know of Kindergartens in Essen (Westphalia), Düsseldorf and Birn, on the Nahe, in the department of Coblenz.

2. In the imperial province of Alsace-Lorraine (*Elsass-Lothringen*), the late Professor Fritz, of Strasburg, and Pastor Kurz interested themselves in the cause of the Kindergarten as early as 1850. But how much is now to be found in Alsace-Lorraine? The Kindergarten should be energetically pushed here by all patriots, as the best means for Germanising the province.

3. The Bavarian Palatinate on the Rhine shows the most praiseworthy eagerness in Kindergarten affairs. Here is a "Froebel Society of the Palatinate," as well as a "Froebel Association of the Palatinate" (Pastor Bähring, at Minfeld) with twelve Kindergartens, which are in connection with the neighbouring Kindergartens in Karlsruhe and Mannheim; and there are also Kindergartens at Frankenthal (Herr Karche, Councillor of Trade), Dürkheim (Subrector Pastor Beyer), Spires, or Speier, (Herr Lang, the bookseller), Kaiserslautern (Herr Rödel, certificated teacher), Landau (Herr Ney, solicitor), etc. Landau possesses an establishment for its Kindergarten which can hardly be equalled in Germany. Beside the two-storied school building

¹ It will, of course, be remembered that Madame Luise Froebel, the master's second wife, lives at Hamburg. She has been kind enough to clear up a few uncertain points for us, in the present edition.

lies an enclosed but spacious playground dotted over with shady trees, and in the midst of it an aquarium full of fish, and a superb aviary, quite a house in itself, crowded with pigeons and other birds. On the ground-floor of the school-house are two spacious rooms, which can be thrown into one large hall by taking away a light wooden partition separating them ; and many other excellent devices are to be seen.

4. The Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, upon which Froebel built such high hopes in 1844,¹ now only possesses Kindergartens at Offenbach and Worms (Mlle. Boutti). Why are Benzheim and Darmstadt so wanting in public spirit?

5. The Grand Duchy of Baden has in Karlsruhe a Ladies' Association and two Kindergartens ; in Heidelberg, a Froebel Society, founded by the late Herr von Leonhardi² and Dr. K. Mittermaier, and three Kindergartens with one people's Kindergarten. There is also a Kindergarten at Pforzheim.

6. The Kingdom of Württemberg has Kindergartens at Stuttgart, Heilbronn (Julius Braun), and Waldorf, near Tübingen. Moreover, in the 175 Infant Schools of this kingdom, great use is made of Froebel's gifts and occupations, and of his other educational appliances.

7. In the Kingdom of Bavaria, Munich has a Kindergarten Association, a Training College, and twelve Kindergartens (Dr. Martin, Councillor of Medicine, Dr. P. Schramm, Herr Döhring, head certificated teacher), in spite of the opposition of the ultramontane Roman Catholics.³ There are 183 *crèches* for infants of poor working people in Bavaria ; and much good might be anticipated from the introduction of Kindergarten methods therein. Kindergartens are also found at Hof (Baron von Dobeneck), Bamberg, Würzburg, Schweinfurt, Nuremberg, Amberg, Strubing, Landshut and Augsburg.

¹ That is, in connection with Herr Fölsing : see Introduction to Part IV.

² See *antea*, Part II., Letter XVII.

³ See as to this opposition on the part of Roman Catholics a Swiss narrative in our "Froebel's Autobiography," p. 132.

(B) AUSTRIA.

In 1872 the Austrian Minister of Education, Herr Stremeyer, included the Kindergarten in the system of national education of that country. Since that time in Austria the Kindergarten has received the attention it so well deserves, and has taken a new start of the most encouraging kind, as is evident from the simple fact that the youngest scion of the imperial house¹ has been educated by two Kindergarten teachers. According to statistics published by the Kindergarten Association of Vienna, Austria-Hungary, in 1883, possessed 369 Kindergartens, besides 299 *crèches*. The German School Society, in 1884, had thirty-two Kindergartens of its own, and supported twenty others. As to the numbers in the separate provinces, the following information must serve, but it is compiled from older and therefore more restricted information than that given above for Germany.

1. Vienna, the capital of the empire, has a "Kindergarten Association for Austria" (President A. S. Fischer, Ph. Brunner), more than thirty Kindergartens and one Training College, in which, up to the present date, eleven courses have been completed, and 236 Kindergarten teachers have been trained. One very praiseworthy undertaking of this association is the sending out to all provinces of the empire a circular of questions with a view of collecting materials for a history of the various Austrian Kindergartens and *crèches*. In the rest of the Arch-duchy of Austria² are Kindergartens at Korneuburg and Linz.

2. In Styria, the chief town, Gratz, with its Kindergarten Association, Training College, and seven associated Kindergartens gives an example of Kindergarten culture, most worthy of imitation (Madame Anegg, Mlle. Thurnwald).³ I vividly remember

¹ The Archduchess Elizabeth, daughter of the late Crown Prince Rudolph.

² The province which contains Vienna.

³ For instance, to show the progressive and originative spirit which rules the Kindergarten movement here, the present Editors have always admired a feature in the education of Kindergarten nurses which they believe to be peculiar to Gratz. After their training in ordinary nursery work, and in the application of Kindergarten ideas to that work, they attend frequently during their last three months at one or other of the hospitals, where they are taught the sick-nursing of children in all the usual infantile ailments.

the scene in 1851, when Froebel climbed up on to a chair, and with deep emotion read to an assembly of friends of the Kindergarten movement then being held at the Liebenstein Spa, a beautifully expressed letter from a Styrian gentleman of Gratz, calling down a blessing upon him and his efforts, and praying for his success. A history of the Kindergarten movement in Gratz, which goes back into "the forties," would be extremely interesting.

In all Styria, including the Kindergarten at Uebeljamo, near Marburg, we count about thirteen Kindergartens.

3. In Moravia, Brünn is the seat of a "Froebel Association (German) for Moravia," and sixteen Kindergartens are conducted there by the municipality (Dr. Heinrich Sonneck). Znaim has an "Association for founding and maintaining Kindergartens and Crèches" and one Kindergarten; and there are also Kindergartens in Prossnitz and Sternberg; and in the Hanna,¹ at Kremsier.

5. Bohemia has certainly over sixty-five Kindergartens. In Prague (Director Heinrich) there are one public Kindergarten and many private ones. Municipal Kindergartens exist at Reichenberg, Aussig and Leitmeritz, and private Kindergartens at Pilsen (under the German School Association), Teplitz, Bohemian-Leipa, Saaz, Budweis, Brüx, Elbogen, Eger, etc.

6. In the other Austrian Provinces we find more scattered Kindergartens: Salzburg, one; Carinthia, three (at Klagenfurt); Krain, one; Trieste, five;² Görz and Gradisca, one each; Silesia, four; (Troppau, Bielitz, Biala, Freudenthal); Galicia, six; Bukovina, one; and Croatia, three.

7. In the kingdom of Hungary are about eighty Kindergartens; and two Ladies' Associations in Buda-Pest, which have set before them as their object the propagation and extension of the Kindergarten system. These are the "Society for the Protection of Little Children" (Countess Tisza, Madame Kralowansky) and a society under the presidency of the Baroness Edelsheim. The first-named

¹ This Hanna district, about twenty-eight square miles in extent, is remarkable for a special dialect and other peculiarities; and its inhabitants, who are Slavs, boast themselves to be the representatives of the original people of Moravia.

² Some of these are municipal Kindergartens.

society also conducts a Central Teaching Institution and four Kindergartens. Elsewhere in Hungary we find Kindergartens and Ladies' Associations at Kaschau, Leutschau, in the county of Zips (North Hungary, the region of the upper Theiss and Erzgebirge) Kesmark, Iglo, Pressburg, and Dobschau; and Kindergartens alone at Szarvas, Rosenau, Old-Kanizsa, Szatmár, Siklos, Oedenburg (four), Raab (four), Arad (three), Bela, Szegedin, Szólnok, Lónja, Nagyvaszany; in the Banate, near the Servian frontier, at Temesvar, Pancsova and Weisskirchen. In Siebenbürgen a special journal for Kindergartens and *crèches* is published at Klausenburg; and at the same place are a Training College for Kindergarten teachers and three Kindergartens. Hermannstadt and Kronstadt have also a Kindergarten at each.

The following figures will give a striking view of the rapid growth of the Kindergarten movement in Austria. In 1873 there were 2,461 children in the Kindergartens; but in 1883 there were 17,764. Thus the number of Kindergarten children was multiplied sevenfold within ten years; and in Lower Austria (where from 403 children in 1873 it rose to 4,861 in 1883) it was even multiplied elevenfold!

(C) SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland worthily matches Germany and Austria; and the Swiss Kindergartens grow ever more and more in number and importance. At present there are eighty-one Ladies' Associations and 106 Kindergartens, spread over ten cantons. At the head of the Kindergarten movement stands—

1. Geneva with the unique example of no less than fifty-five public Kindergartens with 3,072 children (Mlle. Zollikofer,¹ the late M. Carteret, Director of Public Instruction,² Baroness Adèle de Portugall³). In 1876, 206 private *crèches* were converted into

¹ This is an error of Herr Poesche, the German Editor: for Mlle. Zollikofer's excellent work for the cause has been done at Aarau, not Geneva.

² We may also mention that M. Carteret was not only Director of Public Instruction, but also President of the Grand Council. His services to education in Switzerland were very great.

³ Madame de Portugall, *née* Hoburg, was born in the province of East Prussia; married the Freiherr von Portugall, a noble of East Prussia, and was early left

Kindergartens under state government, and they have done well in their new form. Each parish selects its own Kindergarten

a widow—losing not only her husband, but her stepson, to whom she was much attached. In these circumstances she found a new happiness in enthusiastically embracing the cause of childhood as preached by Froebel. She studied the system thoroughly under Madame Schrader (then still Mlle. Breyman), and also worked with Madame von Marenholtz-Bülów, at Watzum. Thence she went to England, where she stayed two years at Manchester, working as Kindergarten teacher in a private school (1861–1863). Returning to the Continent at the close of 1863, she attended the lectures of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülów at Berlin, and it was here that one of the present editors (Madame Michaelis) first met her, and a life-long friendship began. Madame Schrader was giving up the direction of the Chantpoulet Kindergarten shortly after this, and could find no one more worthy to be her successor than Madame de Portugall, who replaced Madame Schrader at Geneva in May, 1864. After directing the Chantpoulet Kindergarten for nine years, Madame de Portugall went, in 1873, to Mühlhausen, in Alsace, succeeding Mlle. Hausbrand as principal of the Kindergarten founded and maintained there by Madame Schwartz, a lady whose generous use of considerable wealth in the cause of education cannot be passed without a word of cordial recognition. In 1875 the Education Department of the Grand Council of Geneva determined to conduct all the infant schools in the canton upon the Kindergarten system; and the reputation of the Chantpoulet establishment (whose success, indeed, it was which brought about this happy decision) stood so high that M. Carteret recommended its late head as a most suitable person to carry out what was nothing less than an educational revolution. Madame de Portugall was appointed to the post in 1876, and soon proved the wisdom of the choice the department had made. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that in the hands of any one less courageous, less gifted with tact, less gracious in manner, while unyielding in principle, less thoroughly conversant not only with the philosophy of the Kindergarten but with its practical details of every kind, and less abreast of the time in all general educational methods and culture, this finely planned scheme would have gone to wreck. It is owing to the almost unique combination of power and charm possessed by our friend that every obstacle was conquered—and obstacles were countless—that the natural resistance of the old-fashioned teachers and the whole bureaucracy of education was overcome, and that Geneva obtained the lasting honour of being the first state in the world to formally adopt and actually carry out Froebel's principles as the basis of education. The work once done, and done so brilliantly, facilitated the efforts of the Belgian reformers, who were soon able to gain for their country a like advantage, and Geneva's example also helped the reformers in some other Swiss cantons. Through all the changes of parties and governments since the time of the establishment of Froebelian principles in the state education of the countries named, these principles have firmly endured, and still endure; so that in the face of experiments carried on for sixteen and fourteen years respectively, in countries widely separated by distance, race, religion and national characteristics, and yet equally successful and permanent, it seems remarkable that other governments have not yet followed their example; or if they have established the Kindergarten system on paper, have shrunk from putting it into actual and universal practice, as is unfortunately the case in Austria.

After ten years devotedly spent in the great work above described, whose

teacher, subject to the approval of the Government. A lady inspector, appointed by the Government, overlooks the whole, and arranges training classes for the teachers. For the Kindergarten alone Geneva voted 53,000 francs (£2,120) in the budget of 1881.

2. In St. Gall (the late Dean Mayer, president of the Swiss Kindergarten Association; the late Johann Wellauer) the state institutions comprise a Normal Kindergarten Institution with a Training College and a Kindergarten modelled on the Geneva organisation. Also Wintherthür, following the same plan, spent no less than 70,000 francs (£2,800) upon Kindergarten work in 1881. These encouraging results for Switzerland are due to the persons already named, and others; especially to the energy of Pastor Bion, of Zürich (the present President of the Swiss Kindergarten Association); of Herr Fr. Beust, the famous schoolmaster of Zürich;¹ of Herr Charles Küttel, Inspector of schools in Luzern and editor of the *Swiss Kindergarten*, the official journal of the Swiss Kindergarten Association; and of Professor Raoux, in Lausanne, etc.

importance cannot be over-estimated, Madame de Portugall was compelled to leave Switzerland for the more genial climate of Italy, in consequence of the rapidly declining health of Mlle. Progler, her constant friend and companion, and one whose collaboration in the formidable labours at Geneva was simply priceless. Madame Schwabe joyfully seized upon the opportunity thus afforded her to place Madame de Portugall at the head of the famous Naples Kindergarten, in 1884; and it is at this post that Madame de Portugall still continues her invaluable services to the Kindergarten cause.

Madame de Portugall has had the special honour of being called (on two occasions) to act as principal examiner for the Froebel Society of London.

¹ We wish we had space to express and justify our admiration of Herr Beust's truly remarkable institution, which, beginning with a perfect Kindergarten Transition-class, proceeds throughout strictly on the lines of Froebel and Pestalozzi. We are speaking from the personal knowledge of one of us (E.M.) when we say that so far as we know this school stands alone in its complete fulfilment of the designs of these great educationists. It was therefore with peculiar pleasure that, on the occasion of a recent visit, looking over the shoulder of a bright boy of six or seven, the name of "Ferd. Froebel" was recognised by E.M. on his copybook as he sat at work. Inquiry discovered that he was really the great-grand-nephew of the master. Little Ferdinand Froebel is the grandson of Theodor Froebel, youngest brother of Karl and Julius Froebel, the nephews of Friedrich. Indeed, this school was founded by Karl Froebel himself, and was transmitted directly from him to Herr Beust. Theodor, this lad's grandfather, and Karl Froebel's brother, established himself as a horticulturist and landscape gardener at Zürich, and his son, little Ferdinand's father, now carries on the business which Theodor founded.

(D) BELGIUM.

As in Austria and Switzerland, so also in Belgium, the Kindergarten is recognised by the state. It there figures, according to a conception very worthy of adoption by other states, as the first grade of public instruction. The Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülów and Madame Henriette Schrader first gained a footing for the Kindergarten in this country (Jacobs, "Manual").¹

The present leaders of the Kindergarten system in Belgium are M. Guillaume (of the Conservatoire, at Brussels) and his wife Madame Guillaume, who is inspector of Kindertgartens—the post precisely analogous to that held by Madame de Portugall at Geneva—M. Eugène Tedesco, Inspector of schools, and M. Frédéric Stern.²

(E) ITALY.

In Italy there is an "Association for the Promotion of the Kindergarten System"; and Kindertgartens are flourishing in various towns, especially in Florence, Naples (Madame Salis Schwabe,³

¹ Herr Poesche refers here to the "Manuel Pratique des Jardins d' Enfants de Frédéric Froebel," by J. F. Jacobs and the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülów. Our copy is the 2nd edition, Brussels, 1854.

² To these we should like to add the name of M. de Buels, who, when Burgomaster of Brussels, came over to the Educational Conference at S. Kensington and delivered an admirable address upon the great work undertaken by Belgian Froebelians. His own share in that work was considerable.

³ Madame Salis-Schwabe, whose mother's name was Salis and her father's name Schwabe, married her cousin, whose benevolence, as we have heard, equalled her own. Their goodness to the employés of Herr Schwabe's factories, near Manchester, in the way of providing schools and other advantages, are well known, as well as many other more general benefits to England; but that which endears Madame Schwabe to the friends of education and of true charity to the poor is the splendid Froebelian work in Naples, which has formed one of the main occupations of her widowhood. Struck, while on a visit to Naples, with the squalor and dense ignorance of the lower orders there, which indeed must force itself upon all of us who have visited that lovely and unhappy city, if we have ever deviated from the main streets, Madame Schwabe resolved to make a strenuous effort at the improvement of this particular evil as her contribution to the general wave of enthusiasm called forth by the declaration of Italian independence (1866). She therefore

Mlle. Petermann), Bologna (Ugo Vital), Venice (Prof. Adolfo Pick¹), etc. In Italy, as well as elsewhere, it was the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow who was the apostle of the Kindergarten. The fact that the King and Queen of Italy were present at the Centenary festival of Froebel's birth, held at Rome in 1882, sufficiently indicates the high interest that is taken in the affairs of the Kindergarten in Italy.

acquired a large disused public building (the ex-Collegio Medico), and established there, in 1873, a public and gratuitous Kindergarten and elementary school, starting with forty children. (Later on, as there was room, paying children were also admitted.) The first head of the Kindergarten was Mlle. Petermann, a pupil of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, and the first (and we are happy to say the present) manageress, Mlle. Bärmann. In 1877 the Training College was added, beginning with eight students, and primary schools were further added in 1879, beginning with 170 children. In 1890 the addition of an Industrial wing, where actual handicrafts are taught after the ordinary school hours, has completed the scheme, a monument to the generosity and perseverance of Madame Salis-Schwabe. As we have elsewhere stated, Madame de Portugall was appointed head of the Kindergarten side of the institution in 1884, and still holds that post. There are at present (1890) 174 children in the free Kindergarten, and 54 who pay fees. In the Training College there are now nineteen students. Signor Quarati (whom Madame Schwabe had caused to be trained in the Birkbeck Schools in England) is the head of the elementary school department, which at present numbers 417 children. The primary school has 449. No less than 200 children were turned away this year (1890) for want of room. Since the institution was opened in 1873, there have entered in all 9,632 pupils. The Town Council of Naples (Municipio) has long taken interest in this undertaking, and has materially assisted in supporting a work of such great benefit to the town, and in 1887 the Government of Italy took up the cause. Signor Coppino, Minister of Instruction, incorporated the whole institution as an *Ente Morale*, or foundation, and endowed it with the buildings it occupied, and with an annual subsidy of 12,400 lire (£496). It also enjoys the income from the 50,000 lire (£2,000) with which Madame Salis-Schwabe had endowed it. With these aids and the increased revenue from fees, it is now (1890) self-supporting.

¹ Professor Piek was induced by one of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow's many missionary travels, sowing the seed of Kindergarten ideas, to undertake the foundation of a Kindergarten at Venice, in 1869, which he started at a public conference in the Ateneo. Madame della Vida Levi (like Professor Piek, of the Hebrew faith) warmly associated herself with this movement, and at a later time established an independent Kindergarten of her own, in which Madame Michaelis had the pleasure to be of some slight assistance to her.

We might add to the information in the text the early Froebelian propaganda at Milan, through the enthusiastic discourses of Signor Vincenzo di Castro, about twenty-five years since; and that Madame Michaelis was much gratified with the intelligent method and thorough work of the Florence Kindergarten, which when she was staying there in 1868 was directed by Mlle. Bertuchek, a pupil of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow.

(F) PORTUGAL, SPAIN, GREECE.

In the remaining peninsulas of Southern Europe the Kindergarten has also gained a firm footing.

1. In Portugal, since 1879, the Kindergarten has found great favour with the families of the Portuguese. The further development and propaganda of the Kindergarten system have now been taken in hand by the "Society for the Improvement of Education" at Oporto (Senhor Osorio, president; Senhor da Vasconcellos, secretary). In Oporto (and in Lisbon also) a great festival was held on the Froebel centenary, in 1882, and bold as was the plan of a complete Kindergarten then conceived, it is, however, to be fully carried out. The building is to contain 200 children, and of the 4,300 square metres of land occupied (about $1\frac{1}{8}$ acre, English), 3,509 (about $\frac{4}{5}$ acre, English) are devoted to the garden. The lower storey will contain two glass-roofed verandas, an anti-chamber serving as cloak-room, three work-rooms, two corridors, a visitor's room, a store-room for materials, a lavatory, two play-rooms and a broad staircase; and the garden will have a fountain, an aviary, a pond, available for cold baths if desired, a hen-roost, a large summer-house, a gymnasium, a green-house, flower-beds, some of them for the free use of the children, trees of all possible varieties, playgrounds, a large maze or labyrinth, and heaps of sand for digging, etc., to provide healthy out-door exercise. The cost is estimated at 30,000 milreis (about £6,650). In generous combination with the Kindergarten we find in this plan several interchanging elements of educational reform; for instance, Schwab's School-gardens, as attached to the schools of Vienna, the handicraft-schools, a Pestalozzian idea, and the gardens for youths (*Jugend-Gärten*), an idea of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow; and these are connected together and combined to form one system. Further, a most interesting combination is here to be effected between the Kindergarten Establishment and the Pestalozzi College. Compare, in this respect, the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House at Berlin, described at p. 35.

2. Spain has a Kindergarten Training College in the Normal

Training School at Madrid, with Kindergarten attached ; and there is also another Kindergarten at Madrid, and one at Bilbao (Mlle. Gräfle). These Madrid Kindergartens have become so popular that they cannot hold all the children who are anxious to come. It is certainly a remarkable circumstance that Froebel's system should have at once gained such general approval in Spain. Indeed, it may be with confidence predicted that the Kindergarten will form the basis of the entire Spanish school system in the immediate future. "The Kindergarten and its Methods," by the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, has been translated into Spanish by Professor Rio.

3. In Greece, also, the interest felt in the Kindergarten grows from day to day, which is especially due to the efforts of Madame Lascaridi.

(G) RUSSIA.

Since 1863 Russia has shown a very active interest in the Kindergarten, and has sent several young ladies to the training colleges at Berlin, Gotha, Dresden and Prague (Director Heinrich) to be educated as Kindergarten teachers. In St. Petersburg we now find a Froebel Society, a Training College, and several Kindergartens (Mlle. Pauline von Sadler) ; as well as Kindergartens at Moscow, Kiew, Omsk, Helsingfors and Ekenaes, in Finland (Pastor Cygnäus), Riga and Dorpat, in Livonia.

(H) HOLLAND, SWEDEN, ENGLAND.

The northern Teutonic nations strive diligently to overtake Germany in Kindergarten activity.

1. In Holland the leader is Madame Elise van Calcar,¹ wife of

¹ One of this accomplished lady's pupils has recently established a Kindergarten near Croydon, and the Editors have thus learned from good authority many interesting particulars of Madame van Calcar's enthusiastic nature and unusual educational powers. "*Coerflakhe*," in the German text, is evidently a printer's error for Over Flakee, one of the great islands at the mouth of the Maas.

the burgomaster of the island of Over Flakee, where there are two Kindergartens.

2. In Sweden there are Kindergartens in Gothenburg.

3. England has proved to be warmly in sympathy with Froebel's methods. The chief moving agent in English Kindergarten work is the British and Foreign Schools Society (founded in 1868), which has won a firm footing for the Kindergarten in England since 1874, and brought about a still better understanding of the system through an important exhibition of Kindergarten work held in South Kensington in 1884 (Miss Eleonore Heerwart, Lord Reay, W. Wouren). Many German Kindergarten works have been translated into English, as, for example, the works of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow (Countess Krokow), the Kindergarten Praxis of August Köhler (Miss Mary Gurney), Seidel's Catechism, etc. A Training College exists at London (Kindergarten College), as well as many Kindergartens in London and Saffron Walden; and there are also Kindergartens in Dublin, Manchester, Croydon (Madame Michaelis), Aberdeen and Birmingham.

*APPENDIX BY THE TRANSLATORS TO THE
SECTION "ENGLAND."*

It is to be hoped that Herr Poesche's account of other countries is nearer the mark than this almost ludicrously inexact presentation of the Kindergarten in England. The conjunction of "London and Saffron Walden" seems particularly happy; and although we personally cannot complain, as one of ourselves is honourably mentioned by name, and our Croydon work has its fitting place, yet to overlook the undoubted precedence of the Manchester Kindergarten Association amongst English Kindergarten Societies, and to notice nothing else of the Froebel Society's long work save its defunct Training College, shows, to put it mildly, a want of the sense of proportion. The British and Foreign School Society was founded in 1808, as a reference to the first encyclopædia might have informed the German Editor. Mr. "Wouren," we are daring enough to assume, is our excellent friend, the Rev. A. Bourne (Secretary of the British and Foreign Schools Society) in a continental disguise. Otherwise, although we ourselves took a fair share in the important Exhibition and Conference referred to in the text, we cannot say we remember meeting Mr. "Wouren." Neither are we acquainted with Madame "Krokow's" English translations of Madame von Marenholtz' works, although we know well Miss Christie's excellent translations, and Miss Shirreff's work in this department (always good), and several American translations of Madame von Marenholtz.

The Kindergarten in England began by the foundation of a Kindergarten at Hampstead, which Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow found at work, the solitary institution of its kind in our country, during her six months' visit in 1854-5, when on her missionary tours in favour of Froebel's system. The Baroness herself laid the foundations for several more by lectures and conferences: and in "*Die Arbeit und die Neue Erziehung*" ("Hand Work and Head Work" in Miss Christie's translation) she mentions having herself taught in one of the London "Ragged Schools" for several months, to the great delight not only of the children but also of the teachers. When she left us in 1855 she transferred much of her own course of work, in lecturing, etc., to Herr H. Hoffmann, from Hamburg, who continued to give courses of practical lessons to teachers in several of the Kindergartens which had now sprung up, or schools which were looking favourably on the new system. The Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow herself published a little book in London, in 1855, called "The Infant-Gardens." She pays a cordial tribute to the readiness with which Charles Dickens welcomed Froebel's ideas, and gave them all the aid in his power, publishing more than one article upon them in his journal, *Household Words*. Many newspapers (*Times*, *Morning Herald*, etc.) and the leading critical journal, the *Athenæum*, also noticed her work favourably. It is also interesting to observe that another of the foremost Englishmen of the time, the famous Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, then over in London collecting artisans for the colony, and teachers for his beloved Zulus, at once saw the surpassing merit of the Kindergarten system and sent two teachers to take lessons of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow. The bishop took back with him to the colony several complete sets of the gifts and materials for the occupations; and was overjoyed to find that his chief difficulty in teaching the Zulus, namely, the difficulty to get them to understand English books and English teachers, was quite surmounted by a system which explains itself intelligibly to children of all races and tongues alike.

The same year (1854) that brought the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow to our shores brought also Madame Ronge. This gifted and unhappy lady had been already active in the cause at Hamburg, having originally been taught there by Froebel himself, and by Middendorff, in 1849. Madame Ronge established a Kindergarten of her own in Fitzroy Square, in 1854, which she gave over to Miss Praetorius, who came to London from Nassau very shortly afterwards in the same year. Madame Ronge now went to Manchester, where she gave courses of lectures, and taught privately and in schools; amongst the latter, in the schools of Mrs. Moore¹ and Miss Barton, both of whom established Kindergartens in connection with their schools. (Our friend, Miss Barton, we are happy to say, is still at the head of her school, with its accompanying Kindergarten.) So great was the favour accorded to Madame Ronge's efforts that in 1854 the Manchester Kindergarten Association was founded—the first Kindergarten Association in this country. It still exists, but at the present moment (1890) no longer in its pristine vigour, and its well-wishers would be glad to see a renewal of energy restore this valuable society to the position to which its great services so well entitle it. Madame Ronge's well-known "*Kindergarten Guide*," though now superseded, was in its day the best book of its kind in English.

In 1861 many well-known names in the English Kindergarten movement first occur. Miss Eleonore Heerwart, our much-respected friend, now first began her long and honoured career in our country. She came over in 1861 to

¹ Not related to the present Editor.

conduct the Kindergarten belonging to Miss Barton's school at Manchester, mentioned above. Miss Heerwart brought to us the traditions of Keilhau itself, where she had enjoyed the training of Froebel's best friend, Middendorff, who taught at Keilhau from his beloved master's death in June, 1852, to his own too early death in November, 1853. After 1853 Froebel's widow, Madame Luise Froebel, continued the training of students in which she had been helping Middendorff for a short time, but with her departure in the spring of 1854 to Dresden, where she assisted Dr. Bruno Marquardt, the training of Kindergarten students at Keilhau came to an end. Miss Heerwart was occupied in Kindergarten teaching in various parts of Germany till Miss Barton was happily advised to invite her to this country. Completing this small account of a lady who has been excelled by no one in the value, the earnestness, and the practical results of her Kindergarten work in England, we may add that in 1864 Miss Heerwart left Manchester for a Kindergarten in Belfast; and after two years' work there she established a Kindergarten and school of her own in Dublin (1866). In 1874, the British and Foreign School Society, which had always taken the greatest interest in our movement, determined to establish its own Kindergarten Training College at Stockwell; and at this time Miss Heerwart was passing through London on her return to Germany, having disposed of her successful establishment in Dublin. The Society had the good fortune to be able to induce her to remain in England, as principal of their new Kindergarten Training College, and she continued worthily to fill this position till 1883, sending out many carefully trained students, who are now amongst our best teachers. Miss Heerwart, on retiring from active work in her profession, went over to Germany to take part in founding the Memorial Kindergarten of Blankenburg, in 1883, the outcome of the Froebel Centenary festivals held all over the world in 1882; and at her departure from England, after nearly a quarter of a century's work, she received the honour of a public leave-taking, not unaccompanied by remembrances of a more substantial nature from her English friends. Since then Miss Heerwart has lived chiefly at Weimar, always occupied in Froebelian propaganda, and has officiated as principal examiner for the Froebel Society in 1887 and 1888.

Besides Miss Heerwart, our distinguished friend the Baroness Adèle de Portugall came to England in 1861. Madame de Portugall became head of the Kindergarten attached to Mrs. Fretwell's school, at Manchester. (We have given some account of our friend's life-work in a note to the section Switzerland.) Miss Doreck had come over (from Würtemberg) in 1857, and had, in 1866, established her well-known school in Kildare Gardens, whence she removed to Kensington Gardens Square. She became so interested in Froebel's system by attending the lectures of Herr H. Hoffmann (mentioned above) that she from the first established a Kindergarten in connection with her school, and made herself so practically acquainted with the Kindergarten methods, and still more especially with the principles underlying them, that she was unanimously elected to the presidency of the Froebel Society on its foundation in 1874. The Kindergarten established by Miss Doreck still flourishes under the experienced guidance of her relative, Miss Roth, a pupil of Miss Heerwart.

In April, 1874, Madame Emilie Michaelis, a pupil and friend of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow, Madame de Portugall, and Madame Vogeler (Ida Seclé), who had previously been working at the Kindergarten propaganda, for love of the cause, in Switzerland and Italy, came to England definitely to adopt Kindergarten teaching and training as her profession. After lecturing

in London "to mothers" (one of the said "mothers," Mrs. Lewis, who had been famous on the English stage as Miss Kate Terry, sister of Miss Ellen and Miss Marion Terry, soon afterwards established a class in her house under the lecturer's guidance), Madame Michaelis was appointed by the Girls' Public Day School Company to introduce the Kindergarten into the Notting Hill High School. A bright young form-mistress there, our friend Miss Emily Lord, at once took profound interest in the new teaching, and herself in course of time became well known by her Kindergarten and Training College at Norland Square, Notting Hill, as one of the most successful and energetic of English Kindergarten teachers and trainers. Amongst other courses delivered in this year (1874) by Madame Michaelis, was one to the teachers of the infant schools under the School Board at Croydon, Surrey; which led eventually to her being engaged by Mrs. Berry (at that time residing in Croydon) as principal of a Kindergarten which was established at Croydon in January, 1875. (Mrs. Berry's services to education comprise also the chief share in the establishment of the Croydon High School for Girls, and also—which is more pertinent to the matter in hand—many years' work as Honorary Secretary of the Froebel Society.)

Returning to the year 1874, we find in the autumn of that year Miss Heerwart installed as principal of the newly founded Kindergarten Training College at Stockwell, and Miss Bishop (a pupil of Miss Praetorius) appointed as the first lecturer to the teachers of infant schools under the School Board of London; the same post which is now so excellently filled by our esteemed friend Miss Mary J. Lyschinska, a pupil of Madame Schrader.

The movement had now developed to such importance in London that a central society was manifestly needed, and in November, 1874, the Froebel Society of London was founded by Miss Heerwart, Miss Doreck, Miss Bishop, Madame Michaelis, Miss Manning and Professor Joseph Payne. These formed the first council of the society, Miss Doreck being the first President, and Miss Manning the first Honorary Secretary. The council was soon after strengthened by the accession of Miss Shirreff—the present much-respected President, who took office on Miss Doreck's death, in 1877—of her sister, Mrs. William Grey, of Miss Mary Gurney, and of other prominent educationists. Miss Shirreff's presidency has been one long course of generous effort, as English Froebelians gratefully recognise. No labour possible for her to undertake has been left undone, in spite of a persistent ill-health that would have afforded any one else sufficient excuse for repose. The most recent of the President's many valuable publications is "The Kindergarten at Home."

The Froebel Society almost at once began practical work by instituting courses of lectures at the College for Men and Women, Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. The examinations of teachers under the Society began in 1876 (the chief examiner of that year being Madame de Portugal), and have continued uninterruptedly till now. The great value attached to the certificate, in consequence of the uniformly high character of the Society's examinations, would seem of itself to ensure the permanence of this valuable branch of the Society's work, which extends largely with each succeeding year.

In 1879 the Froebel Society established a Kindergarten Training College in Tavistock Street, Fitzroy Square, Miss Bishop being the first principal, and the whole establishment being organised as a separate association, with a council of its own; all the council, however, being members of the Froebel Society. (We may here add that in 1881 Miss Lawrence, a pupil of Köhler, succeeded Miss Bishop as head of the College; and that, in 1883, the College was transferred to the Maria Grey Training College for Teachers, becoming

the Kindergarten department of that institution, and passing therefore under the headship of Miss Ward, and in this form it still continues.)

In May, 1880, the first public company for the promotion of the Kindergarten system was founded. This was the Croydon Kindergarten and Preparatory School Company, Limited. The Croydon Kindergarten of 1875, which had come into the hands of Madame Michaelis, required organisation to meet the needs of the town. A committee was formed to assist Madame Michaelis in the business portion of the work, leaving to her, without interference, the educational conduct of the institution. It was pointed out that the form of a committee, as a responsible body, was a weak one, since some members might retire and throw all the financial responsibility as to leases, buildings, etc., upon those who remained. It occurred to one of the committee that the Public Companies' Act could be easily applied, and as a result the Croydon Kindergarten Company was founded, and has been ever since carried on with no legal assistance whatever. During the ten years of its existence the Croydon Company, besides its teaching work, has trained over seventy students for examination as Kindergarten mistresses by the Froebel Society. This more durable form of Kindergarten Association proving successful and easy in working, has caused the establishment of the Bedford Kindergarten Company, Limited (1883—Head Mistress, Miss Sim), and of the Sutton (Surrey) Kindergarten Company, Limited (1888—Head Mistress, Miss Tinsley); and the Croydon Company had the pleasure to assist in creating these friendly rivals.

In 1882 the centenary of Froebel's birth was celebrated in London by a *soirée* and *conversazione*, held at the Stockwell Training College, by the invitation of the British and Foreign School Society. Mr. W. Woodall, M.P., presided. Some excellent addresses were delivered; several interesting souvenirs of Froebel, of his educational career, and especially of his Kindergarten work, were exhibited, and of course a general exhibition of the Kindergarten gifts and occupations took place; in short, the evening forms a very pleasant memory for Froebelians. A plan for erecting a monument and establishing a memorial Kindergarten at Blankenburg was set on foot (Froebel's original Kindergarten here having long before ceased to exist), as a worthy way in which to honour the master's memory, and the Froebel Society of London gave a concert at Willis's Rooms, most of the choir being persons associated with the Kindergarten movement, to raise a fund for aiding the Blankenburg plan. A moderate contribution was indeed forwarded to Germany as the result, though this was by no means so substantial as the Society had desired. In fact, while the memorial Kindergarten was established in the following year (1883) with the funds raised in various countries, the monument, which takes the expressive and most appropriate form of a marble cube, with cylinder and ball superposed, was erected entirely at the charge of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow. Besides the small fund raised by the Froebel Society in London, the present Editors had the pleasure of sending a few pounds to Germany as the result of contributions collected by them in Croydon.

The year 1884 was a marked one in the history of the Kindergarten in England. In that year the International Exhibition held at London (one of a series of four remarkable undertakings of this nature) concerned itself with the subjects of Health and Education. The British and Foreign School Society had just opened a Training College for Infant School teachers at Saffron Walden, where the curriculum comprised a considerable study of the Froebelian methods, in addition to the English methods necessitated by the Government code, so that these fortunate teachers, if no others, should have a competent knowledge of the Kindergarten system, and should be able to apply it so far

and so soon as the Education Department would allow. We are happy to be able to add that in consequence of the enlightened conduct of this Society, of many of the great School Boards, especially that of London, and of several local efforts of the like kind (as with our own Kindergarten Company and the School Board at Croydon, for instance), a growing public opinion has been created all over the country, and the policy of the Department has grown much more liberal with regard to the Kindergarten system; so that the difficulty at the present day lies chiefly between the Inspectors and the Teachers, and is therefore rapidly tending to disappear. The International Exhibition gave the British and Foreign School Society a golden opportunity to emphasize the views which had led to their action at Saffron Walden, and in pursuit of which they had honourably worked for so many years; and the Secretary of the Society, our valued friend the Rev. Alfred Bourne, together with Miss Heerwart, who came over from Germany for the purpose of assisting her old college, organised the most complete and successful exposition of Kindergarten methods and work ever seen in this country. A large room was allotted to the Society in the Exhibition, and all the principal Kindergarten teachers and trainers of London, together with ourselves from Croydon, loyally united in contributing to the exhibition by sending exhibits of work, and taking it in turn to give actual specimens of teaching, each school bringing its own children. Great interest was excited; the president of the Section, Lord Reay, was frequently present, and even H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, president of the entire exhibition, made a point of attending one of these practical demonstrations. We may add that the Kindergarten which chanced to be at work at the exhibition on the day of the Prince's visit was that of Miss Pearce (Mrs. Reaney), of Streatham Hill; and it was fortunate that the games which were played by the children were amongst the most charmingly graceful of the whole series, and that the singing was unusually bright and good. Besides this important exhibition the Kindergarten System formed one section of a very interesting series of conferences on educational subjects which were held in lecture theatres attached to the Exhibition. Two days were devoted to this subject, and the proceedings were very animated. Miss Heerwart contributed a paper, read by the Rev. Alfred Bourne; and Miss Manning also gave a paper. The principal English friends of the Kindergarten joined in the discussion of these papers, and amongst foreign educationists of note who took prominent parts were M. Buels, the Burgomaster of Brussels and Belgian Minister of Education, a firm friend of the Kindergarten; the aged Professor Stoy, of Jena (since deceased), doubly welcome as one of the few surviving personal friends of Froebel; and Madame la Comtesse Dinan, who gave a valuable account in some detail of the well-known *Salles d'Asile* of Madame Pape-Carpentier, at Paris. The Kindergarten section of the Exhibition was closed most appropriately by a special conference of Kindergarten teachers and trainers, and others intimately connected with the movement. The principal speakers were Miss Frances Lord, Miss Lyschinska, Miss Heerwart, Miss Snell, Madame Michaelis, and Miss Franks. The president was the Rev. Alfred Bourne. To prove by actual demonstration that considerable bodies of children could be satisfactorily taught in Froebelian methods in ordinary infant-schools—a point which had frequently been discussed—Miss Tillotson (one of Miss Heerwart's pupils at the Stockwell Training College, and now Mistress in the Stockwell Training College of the British and Foreign School Society) taught a class of sixty Board School children in the presence of the assembled Conference, very greatly to their satisfaction.

It was not to be supposed that so much concerted action could remain barren of practical consequences amongst English Froebelians, quite apart from the

very important result already produced upon the public at large, and upon the educational authorities of the country. The most evident need was that of some combined attempt to maintain a high standard of training for Kindergarten teachers, a policy which the Froebel Society had been consistently following from its foundation. The dangers from imperfectly trained teachers, equipped with some superficial mechanical knowledge of Froebel's methods, but entirely ignorant of Froebel's aims, were sufficiently apparent; and it was evident that the best method of indicating the really qualified teachers was by some generally recognised certificate. The London Kindergartens and the Croydon Kindergarten were well represented upon the council of the Froebel Society, and were used to a high standard maintained by joint action; and the two other chief provincial associations were persuaded, after many discussions, to accept the high standard of London, the Manchester Kindergarten Association (the oldest English Froebelian body), first, in June 1887; and the Bedford Kindergarten Company, the next year, March, 1888. Thus was formed the National Froebel Union for examinational purposes, working by means of a Joint Board chosen from the councils of the three societies in the proportion of one member to every complete fifty subscribers. Besides the examination for the full teacher's certificate (or "higher certificate") intended to be taken in two portions, the two examinations being a year apart, the Joint Board and the three societies instituted a simpler examination, for an "elementary certificate," sufficient for assistant teachers, nursery governesses, etc., and intended to be taken in one year; and in either case sufficient evidence of general education was made a preliminary condition of entrance, according to the long usage of the Froebel Society.

Examinations under the Joint Board may be held at any town in England, where not less than £21 is guaranteed towards the expenses of the local centre. The first examinations under the Board were held in 1889, at London, Cheltenham, Croydon, Manchester, Plymouth and Shrewsbury; 128 students being examined. In 1889, the entries were 169, and the examinations were held at London, Bedford (which had now joined the Union), Cheltenham, Croydon, Manchester and Plymouth. The Manchester Association, in consequence of changes in its constitution, and not from any unfriendliness, felt it its duty, unhappily, to withdraw from the National Froebel Union in May, 1889; Manchester students still continuing to present themselves at their local centre. The numbers of students coming up for examination continued to rise, and in 1890 there were 231 entries, examinations being held at London, Bedford, Cheltenham, Cork, Croydon, Plymouth and Sheffield.

The original composition of the Joint Board was Rev. Alfred Bourne (chairman), Madame Michaelis, Mr. H. Courthope Bowen and Mr. Claude G. Montefiore (of the Froebel Society); Miss Herford and Miss Snell (of the Manchester Association). In 1888 Dr. Philpotts (head-master of the Bedford Grammar School), Rev. Dr. Poole and Miss Sim (of the Bedford Company) were added. In 1889 the Manchester members withdrew. In 1890 the Rev. Mr. Bourne, owing to ill-health, had to relinquish the post for which his great abilities and long sustained efforts in the cause so eminently fitted him, and his place as chairman was filled by Mr. Claude G. Montefiore, for a time, and then by Mr. Courthope Bowen. Miss Rosamond Davenport-Hill (the well-known member of the London School Board) was elected to the seat at the Board vacant by Mr. Bourne's retirement; and another member being now due to the Froebel Society, because of its increase of numbers, Miss Emily Lord was appointed. Later in the same year Mr. Montefiore retired, and

was replaced by Mr. A. R. Price, who had for some years been the Treasurer of the Froebel Society. The composition of the Joint Board, as it stands at the close of the present year (1890), is therefore as follows: Mr. H. Courthope Bowen (Chairman), Miss R. Davenport-Hill, Miss Emily Lord, Madame Michaelis and Mr. A. R. Price (of the Froebel Society), Dr. Philpotts, Rev. Dr. Poole and Miss Sim (of the Bedford Company).

From 1888 onwards, the Froebel Society accepted the duty of recommending an Examiner to test the Kindergarten work of the Infant School Teachers on the London School Board. The first examiners were Mr. Storr (1888), Miss Pattison (1889), Madame Michaelis (1890).

The Froebel Society has for some years been in the habit of inspecting Kindergartens when desired to do so, and of ascertaining also by other means the value of the teaching in various Kindergartens. The number of special Kindergarten Training Colleges is about ten, and of other institutions where students are trained, and which are in the habit of sending up candidates for examination by the Society, from thirty to thirty-five; and the number of properly taught Kindergartens recognised by the Society is about 100. But, with the usual national idiosyncrasy of sturdy independence, many excellent teachers have not as yet brought themselves into touch with the Froebel Society. Several such are known, indeed, to the present Editors; but it is one of the aims of diligent members of the Froebel Society constantly, by persuasion, to reduce the number, and to bring about that complete union wherein alone lies strength; and no doubt the gradual influence of time and the growing reputation and importance of the Froebel Society will achieve the desired result. Meanwhile, it is the opinion of the Editors, after careful consideration, that the total number of fairly qualified trainers of Kindergarten mistresses in England may be taken at about fifty, and the number of well-taught Kindergartens at about 200. But as to the total numbers of institutions adopting the Kindergarten name in our country, it is simply "legion." Every school has its Kindergarten class, good, bad or indifferent. The whole meaning of the Froebel Society and the other bodies of the kind is an effort truthfully to promote Froebelian education, in other words, to change all the countless sham Kindergartens into real ones.

From what has been said above it is abundantly evident that England has realised the presentiment of the master, so frequently expressed in his last days, that his great system, originally conceived with regard to his own dearly loved country ("*Allgemeine Deutsche Erziehungs-Anstalt*," "*Deutscher Kindergarten*," etc.), might, after all, strike deeper root in foreign nations than among his own people. He regrets, in writing to Miss Howe (Part III., No. 5), that his own want of acquaintance with foreign languages limited his efforts in this direction. Could he know how the Kindergarten has developed in England from a foreign imported system into an essential part of our modern education; could he see the enormous power his principles have acquired in our country, far beyond the Kindergarten itself—influencing our educationists of all ranks, and in some cases completely remodelling methods of education—he would be filled with a deep and holy rejoicing at the wonderful success of his life-long efforts in the cause of humanity, from the side of education, and especially as regards those beloved little ones "of whom is the kingdom of heaven."

(I) JAPAN.

The Kindergarten was introduced into Japan by a Berlin lady, the wife of one of the high Japanese officials, who had long served in Berlin. This lady established a Training College for Kindergarten teachers under the protection of the empress, who had collected one of the most complete libraries of Kindergarten literature to be found, in doing which she had been supported by the Mikado himself. After a sufficient number of Japanese Kindergarten teachers had been trained a large normal Kindergarten was set on foot. According to the report of Professor Mason, of Boston, from 200 to 300 children, between the ages of two and six, are now educated here daily, under the superintendence of the Berlin lady we have named. She has a well-equipped staff of teachers, assistants, and maids under her, all thoroughly trained in Froebel's principles. The empress manifests much interest in the Kindergarten, and pays frequent visits to it, encouraging the staff to still further progress.¹

(K) AMERICA.

Kindergartens flourish apace in the United States of North America, and the results of Froebelian work are so great that we can hardly show anything to compare with them in the Old World, even in Germany, the cradle of the Kindergarten system.

¹ Herr Poesche has not mentioned the date of the foundation of the first Japanese Kindergarten; but we may say that this nation, so remarkable for its swiftness of adaptation, had in 1878 already sufficiently advanced to be able to send an exhibit of Japanese Kindergarten work to the International Exhibition of Paris held in that year. The Japanese Commissioner for Education sent to London at the time of the International Exhibition (Health and Education, 1884), when the Froebelians of London made the important demonstration of their methods which we have above described in our Appendix to the section "England," took great interest in the Kindergarten part of the Exhibition, paid frequent visits to it, informed himself more fully of the aims and principles of Froebel as there shown, and eagerly accepted several of the exhibits, models, work, etc., for transmission to Japan. We indulge our personal vanity in adding that amongst his presents the Commissioner accepted an entire set of Froebel's drawing, completely worked out by Croydon students, which we hope has done good service to the little subjects of the *Mikado*.

The following figures will make it manifest that Froebel's keenest longings and hopes with regard to the New World have been fully realised. According to the statistics furnished by the Bureau of Education in 1873 there were 42 Kindergartens; in 1881 there were 273 Kindergartens, with 676 teachers and assistant mistresses and 14,107 scholars; in 1885 there were 563 Kindergartens with 1,400 teachers and assistant mistresses, and 29,716 scholars; 423 institutions being kept by English-Americans, 142 by German-Americans, and 100 being connected with various public schools. Almost every state has its associations and societies for the promotion of Froebel's method, as, for example, the "American Froebel Union" (President: W. Hailman, of Laporte, director of the German and English Academy, Milwaukee) and the Ladies' Associations of Philadelphia, San Francisco (Professor Adler¹), etc. The following have rendered extraordinary service to the cause of the Kindergarten in America:—Mr. Henry Barnard, ex-Minister of education; Miss Peabody,² of Cambridge, U.S.A., sister-in-law of the celebrated schoolmaster Horace Mann; Mlle. Mathilde Krieger (a former pupil of the Berlin Training College) and her mother;³ the Kraus Böltes,⁴ husband and wife, of New York; the late

¹ Professor Adler is wrongly placed at San Francisco. His great sphere of philanthropic and beneficent work is at New York. The proper name to associate with the introduction of the Kindergarten in San Francisco is that of Miss Emma Marwedel, whose quarter of a century of earnest and original work entitles her to great respect. In 1888 we had the pleasure of receiving her, when visiting England—quite aged, but still full of energy. Miss Kate Wiggin, whose personal acquaintance we made in London this summer (1890), should also be mentioned here as one of the foremost leaders of the Kindergarten movement in San Francisco to-day. She is principal of the National Kindergarten (*Volks Kindergarten*), and is a woman of very remarkable gifts.

² Miss Peabody is one of the few persons yet living who knew and worked with Froebel. Although Herr Poesche has only mentioned her amongst others, those who are intimately acquainted with American Kindergarten work know that Miss Peabody, if any one, may be described as the Apostle of the Kindergarten in America. Her Froebelian work stands pre-eminent there, and her authority is unquestioned.

³ Mlle. Krieger was a fellow student with Madame Michaelis, one of the present Editors, under Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow, at Berlin, in 1863.

⁴ Who have produced what in our opinion is perhaps the best English practical guide to Kindergarten work that has ever yet appeared; in addition to which their Kindergarten at New York is a model for such institutions.

Edward Wiebe, etc.¹ The American newspapers are especially enthusiastic over Froebelian matters, and the booksellers (Steigers, New York) and authors strive with emulation as to who shall produce the best translations of the foremost German Kindergarten publications; as witness: Horace Mann's translation of the collected works of the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, Neffelt's translation of Goldammer's writings, Borschitzky's Kindergarten songs, etc.² The Kindergarten town, before all others, is certainly St. Louis, with its sixty free Kindergartens and 185 teachers and masters, and 4,805 children in the Kindergartens proper, besides 3,925 children, who, after the model of Froebel's Transition Classes, attend partly the Kindergarten and partly the Elementary School classes. All these are free from any school-fees whatever. In Chicago we learn from the *Western News* of 11th March, 1886, that over thirty Kindergartens, attended by more than 2,500 children, have been established in the last five years. Here are two large societies, the "Froebel Association" and the "Free Kindergarten Association," with two Training Colleges (Normal Schools) and twenty-four Kindergartens. The fourteen Kindergartens of the Free Kindergarten Association take children of the poorest classes without fee. The Association has in this manner already done a large amount of good, and it still holds on its beneficent career, supported more and more in its good work by noble friends of humanity.

¹ To show the intense and living earnestness in Kindergarten matters pervading American Society, even of the highest class, we may say that Mrs. Cleveland, wife of the ex-President of the United States (the immediate predecessor of the present President), is the leading member of the Mission Kindergarten Organisation, opened this year (1890) at the corner of First Avenue and Fifty-Third Street, New York, and giving daily shelter and free instruction to poor children from three to seven years old. Mrs. Cleveland spares neither money, clothes, nor kind words, and visits this squalid quarter of the great city almost daily. Interesting and admired as she always has been ever since she was brought into the front rank of American society by her marriage, which occurred during her husband's presidency (a fact unique in the history of America), her quiet, half-concealed, constant, loving work upon this Kindergarten Mission seems to many to be her truest social effort.

² It is too bad, without the least excuse, except that of American habits of piracy of copyright, to rob us of our good friend Borschitzky, whose long residence in our country fairly entitles us to claim him as an Englishman, and whose songs were, as we all know, published in England.

The children, drawn from such miserable dwellings that it is impossible for them to be neatly clothed, receive clothing from the Association, and many of the poor little scholars are also fed daily at its expense. Once in the week a meal is served to all the children in the schools at the expense of the Association, in order that they may receive lessons in good manners at table, and in proper behaviour, from the Kindergarten teachers. Of course, in addition to this, care is taken that their faces and hands are thoroughly washed and their hair neatly brushed ; and if a child comes to school in the morning unwashed or untidy, he is sent back to his mother, so that she may be made aware of her neglected duty. The young teachers and assistants who have charge of the children pay a visit to their parents from time to time, to see how the children live at home ; and it follows naturally that by these visits many a home, once untidy and uncomfortable, has been gradually brought into a more respectable condition. In these free Kindertgartens the main principles of religion are taught. By means of pretty coloured pictures, namely, the children learn the Bible stories ; and the first principles of Christian morality are taught them in a strictly unsectarian manner. The Training College ("Normal School") prescribes one year's course of studies for its students. These young ladies, who must be at least eighteen years old, are educated without fee in all branches of their work, and in return they have to place their time at the disposal of the Association, that is, they must assist to educate the children in the fourteen Kindertgartens, or at all events must help in keeping order. It need scarcely be said that one indispensable qualification for a young aspirant is that her moral character is unblemished ; beyond this she only needs to have musical ability and a merely average education, though the young ladies of superior education are always taken by preference. Each student must serve as probationer for a month, to see if she is fitted for her proposed vocation. Should she satisfactorily pass through the month's probation, and then do well in her year's course, she receives a certificate. But she can only gain a full diploma as teacher after five months further study, and after thoroughly informing herself upon the history and the theory

of education. It is very rarely that a young lady is rejected on account of unsuitableness for her profession, and in these cases deficiency sometimes arises from over-culture as well as from total want of culture. Of course most girls adopt the profession as a means of livelihood after the completion of their student's course ; and it is interesting to note that the demand for trained Kindergarten teachers is greater than the supply. The most pressing inquiries are for German-American teachers, that is, ladies who can speak with equal ease and purity both German and English. Many schools in Chicago have a Kindergarten infant class attached to them, and in all parts of the city private Kindergartens, where cultured ladies educate the children of well-to-do parents at stated fees, have lately sprung up.

And not only in the south, but in the east (New York, Hoboken, Boston, with its forty Kindergartens) and in the west (San Francisco with over twenty Kindergartens) the Kindergartens flourish and are numerous ; and as for the Inland States one example at least we may give, namely, Davenport in the State of Iowa, where there has been a Kindergarten Association with its Kindergarten since 1861. The Kindergarten buildings are by the side of the Mississippi, and the board over the entrance bears the words, " Froebel's Infant-Garden." Thus has Froebel's work encircled the globe, and his name is written in large characters for all the world to see, from Thuringia to Iowa, from the granite rocks of the Glockner to the banks of the Mississippi !

In the year 1851 I was fortunate enough to be in Froebel's house at Marienthal on the 21st April, with his pupils, celebrating his 69th birthday—the last but one he was to know. We long discussed how best to proceed, and with what embellishments our plan might be adorned. In the end we chose five girls from his scholars, and they were to represent the five continents of the earth, declaiming verses before the illuminated world (*N.B.*—the globe was, on this occasion, only made of willow-wands and oiled paper), and prophesying in these songs the extension of Froebel's principles into all the quarters of the earth. We have

only to remember that the centenary of Froebel's birthday was celebrated in Europe, North America, Brazil, Chile, Japan, India, and Australia to acknowledge that in very deed that fantastic vision and prophecy have truly come to pass.

But let us close with what we began, Germany and the Germans. In the year 1878 we could count at the Paris Exhibition 929 German Kindergartens: we have now certainly over 2,000. And it is not merely in the enumeration of these Kindergartens that our advance is manifest, but much rather in the acknowledgment of their value as the basis and foundation stone of our national education. And in this latter point much remains yet to be done in Germany; for Diesterweg's epigram, which he sent to the *Rhine News* (*Rheinische Blätter*) in 1857, has unfortunately come true: "Our Kindergartens seem to share the fate of the rest of our German manufactures, which have first to travel to London and Paris, and win acceptance in those cities before they can be rewarded with favouring glances in the country of their birth." But Froebel, writing to Langethal long before, in 1836, had said much the same thing in his own peculiar way: "Am I travelling amongst a foreign people? Am I not a German travelling amongst Germans? And why, then, am I not understood?"

Well, let us steadily work on, and leave the rest to the guidance of Providence. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from adding yet one more quotation, an admonition from an earnest, practical man, the Chief Councillor for Education, Dr. von Sallwürk, of Carlsruhe, in the *German News* (*Deutsche Blätter*): "Froebel to-day stands in England and in France like the patron saint above the door of the Schools of Education.¹ In Brussels, in the year 1880, Froebel was extolled to the skies. In French Switzerland they are enthusiastic about him, and in Italy a very earnest study of his work has set in. These phenomena are not so unimportant as people are accustomed to consider them in many German educational circles!"

¹ Decidedly an overstatement as regards France. Up to the present time France cannot be fairly said to have begun to adopt the Kindergarten—a neglect in which she stands almost alone amongst the great nations.

(1.)

To the Wives and Mothers of Blankenburg,

and especially to three of them, the Wives of SUPERINTENDENT OERTEL, of RECTOR MAURER, and of HERR SATTLER, Chemist.

Blankenburg, 25th December, 1839.

HONOURED WIVES AND MOTHERS,—

At this beloved Christmas-tide what most stirs the heart of all wives and mothers, and almost narrows their life at this time to one single point, is the joy of the children, the merry activity of all the dear little folk, and especially of the youngest amongst them. The enjoyments of this festive season, which either they or their friends provide for the darlings of their heart, or which these beloved ones provide for others, are the cause of much merry conversation, and are now strengthening the bond of union which binds together the common life of themselves and their numerous companions.

Wherefore I hope to obtain your indulgence, most honoured wives and mothers, seeing that I come before you at a time which is so truly a festive season for children and for the lovers of children, with a petition conceived in the interest of children of tender age. I thus confess my design at the outset.

Some time since, in the gloomy days of bitterness while I sorrowed at the loss of my dear wife, now amongst the blessed ; and especially in those days when the gift which her soul had received from Nature, its bodily envelope, I mean, was once more returned to the mother earth, the most noble-minded women in Blankenburg came before me in a guise so amiable, so thoughtful and kindly, all of them uniting in endeavours to bring peace to my sorrowing soul, and deeply touching me with their goodness, that a gentle desire made itself felt in my heart to seek out some object which might serve as a fitting centre to occupy and preserve that most beautiful and rare union of womanly minds which had thus been formed for my solace, in the first instance. At

that time, out of all the projects which occurred to me I could find none which pleased me, none which was truly appropriate; and my desire has lain still unsatisfied within my soul until these present days. Now another plan for uniting women in a common cause has taken possession of my mind; and my original desire has not only awoke anew to life, but has acquired a determined form and a definite purpose. This desire, and the present opportunity, which is so eminently appropriate for expressing it, now urges me, most esteemed ladies, to address you at this festival time, and by an open letter.

From the establishment in this place of the first educational institution which based itself upon ordered games and occupations, and which has so quickly developed here from that first germ into a healthy and admired plant—mainly by the cherishing aid of the authorities and the parents of Blankenburg, who believed in its future—there has arisen the idea that we need a larger, earlier, and more general care and observation of childhood; and further, with a view to obtain this result, that we need more special training for those who are the first to have charge of children—that is, for children's maids and nursery governesses—not only for the purposes of the general public, but especially in relation to our local educational institutions. I have been asked for some time since, indeed, to unite and incorporate with my educational establishments here the training of such children's maids and nursery governesses, and also, if possible, the training of actual educators of very young children. But prudent and experienced women, conversant with motherly difficulties, will see at once that more is required for the due culture of such students than any solitary educator and trainer, however devoted, can of himself supply; they will recognise the necessity of the practical and thorough co-operation of cultured and experienced wives and mothers with such an educator; but this co-operation, this help, is at present entirely wanting to me.

I have already once before taken the liberty, esteemed Madame Oertel, to point out to you the gravity of these requests which reach me from all sides, to undertake work not alone necessary for Blankenburg families, whose daughters are maybe discover-

ing in themselves a vocation for work of this kind, and not alone necessary for merely the earliest years of childhood, but a work which is necessary to the best interests of all the growing and developing portion of mankind, and one which is sure to find speedy imitation elsewhere; and on that occasion, dear madam, I set before you a scheme to supply the want—namely, that as soon as possible a few of the most cultured, thoughtful, humane, and, above all, child-loving women of Blankenberg should unite together in an effort towards the end I have indicated, towards the fulfilment of a need so universally felt, and that they should pledge themselves to contribute to this cause all their powers of heart and hand, of thought and action.

But now, at this very moment that I seek to consult with you, honoured wives and mothers, on this important subject, I am in receipt of a copy of an essay, written in a lady's hand, and which must have sprung from a mother's heart, the author having sent it to a scholarly and patriotically minded German gentleman, that he might look it through, and then procure its insertion in a widely read German journal. By this article, a copy of the sketch of which is enclosed, I perceive that in addition to oral and separate inquiries we may soon expect a public and therefore a more closely combined attack to be made upon us from without, urging us to the very work I have put before you. But even if this attack should not be actually delivered, the MS. shows me—especially when I read it in conjunction with the article in No. 312 of the *German Intelligencer* (*Deutsche Anzeiger*) of 15th May last—the suitability both in time and place of our Blankenburg Association of cultured, large-hearted women, through whose sympathy and aid I might find it possible to meet the want that is so universally felt, and now begins to be so generally expressed—that is, for the due culture of attendants for children. And, I would add, it would be delightful to be able to greet this public request by an accomplished fact, to greet it, or perhaps to precede it.

Hence am I so bold, upon this blessed day of Christmas, the day whereon the Saviour of children and of men was born, to lay before you my scheme for such an association for your

general consideration ; and to offer it, should it meet with your approval, as a means of worthily celebrating the Christ-festival.

Yes, much-esteemed wives and mothers, this is how I would have you celebrate the present Christmas ; the special children's festival ; the festival when all men rejoice in and with the children ; the festival of the true life brought to mankind, the pure light, the perfect love, towards which in truth it must always be our aim to train the children. I would that this festival might prove to be our Association-day, the foundation-day of an undertaking for the benefit of childhood and the early training of children in general, and also for the training of healthy-minded and brave-hearted maidens into the first real nurses.

Do not, honoured wives and mothers, allow yourselves to be daunted by the smallness and the almost insignificant character which must mark the beginning of such things, especially when we have to reckon with the modest and retiring nature so appropriate to the noblest feminine souls ; but proceed with me to the foundation-feast, and thence to the establishment of the Association. All that is truly of importance to mankind has come to us out of obscurity, small and insignificant, entrusted to the care of womanly souls ; often, as indeed this very festival reminds us, to the care of only one woman, she being the sole guardian of the very highest treasure.

If we choose this day for our opening day, the birthday of the divine friend of children, of him who saw and honoured the Man in the Child and the divine in the human nature, the spirit and hallowedness of this day shall rest upon our work, and without doubt many will join with us because of the feeling and spirit which our association with such a day will naturally call forth.

You yourself, esteemed Madame Oertel, have pointed out to me many a wife and mother of our town who would be likely to join our Association ; and the maidens would come also, for there must be cases such as those indicated to me by your husband, where the eldest daughter of a bereaved family, by studying with us, would fulfil the dearest wishes of her sorrowing father ; and in fact, such a case actually happened lately amongst my own students.

Thus working together in fullest confidence and in all sincerity, though at first in quite a small circle and for an aim narrowly limited, your Association would eventually grow, honoured ladies, and would, with perhaps the assistance of other energetic and honourable women of Blankenburg, form the earliest germ of a general German Women's Association for the care of the earliest years of childhood, would nourish this germ, and sweep away from before it all the obstacles to its growth. The conditions and aptitudes for this Association exist and are evident to me among the circumstances of our time, which is why I cherish the desire for it so faithfully in my bosom, and why my assurance is so firm that many noble-hearted wives and mothers of Germany, from far and wide, will hasten to join in such a work as soon as its blessed nature is visible as an accomplished fact, even though it appear at first on but a very small scale. Let this day, at all events for you three ladies to begin with, be the Foundation-day, the Association-day, of our limited work here at home; which work, however, is at the same time destined to germinate and to develop into a great Women's Association for the care of children.

If you wish to know more precisely the principles which should lie at the base of such an Association, and which are evolved of necessity from the very nature of the enterprise, I shall feel it a pleasant duty to give further particulars.

Receive, honoured ladies, the assurance of my special esteem and attachment.

[No signature.]

(2.)

[“Come, let us live for our children.”]

An Appeal to German Wives and Maidens,

*and to all Germans who love Manhood, Youth, and Childhood,
made in favour of the German Kindergarten by*

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

Blankenburg, 1844.

The following three works about the Kindergarten have appeared up to the present.

1. “Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs” (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), a book for the family. The first games used in the Blankenburg Kindergarten.

2. “A Hundred Songs for the Ball-games of the Blankenburg Kindergarten”; serving both as preface and as supplement to the work called “The Ball, the child’s first toy, and always his best beloved plaything.”

3. The “third gift” of the series of games used in the same Kindergarten:—“The Divided Cube, cut once through each side—the delight of children,” with two hundred ways of using it for building, and as many little songs.

These published works lie open to the perusal and the close scrutiny of all. Taking them in their entirety, and also examining each one in itself, it becomes clear even to the most cursory glance what is meant by the “Kindergarten,” what is meant, moreover, by the “German Kindergarten” as a Normal or Model Institution of this kind; in fact, the aim which these undertakings have in view is quite manifest to every one.

The bodily and mental powers are to be awakened and developed, ways and means for their exercise indicated and provided, and assistants trained; so that every child, no matter of

what rank or condition, may here be able to work out and faithfully express his real nature, character and true vocation in life; educating himself as well as being educated. This is the simple purpose of the "Kindergarten," this the goal towards which the "German Kindergarten" is directed.

But whilst goal and purpose are so clear, almost concentrated, as one might say, in a single point and precisely indicated, moreover, by the needs of all men; yet this point can only be attained through the combined action of many minds—indeed, it would scarcely be too much to say, the action of all minds. For the child must not only be shielded from all evil examples, that which is faulty in his nature being left unstimulated and unnourished, but must at the same time be educated in all that is valuable for life by means of example and practice—in goodness, in observing power, and in practical ability, as well as in the application of whatever instruction is imparted to him; so that later on that child will come to look upon self-development as his highest need in every circumstance of his life. Women must be trained in this work, and become penetrated with its spirit to make themselves helpful in family educational cares, and in all grades of completeness from the nurse to the teacher; and this is the general purpose of the Kindergarten, and the especial purpose of the German Kindergarten.

That these ends of the Kindergarten should be attained, is to the interest of every man, whoever he may be, and it might almost be said that every one's interest is equally great in this; rich or poor, high or low, cultured or of unlettered natural understanding and simple life, young or old, imperfect attainment of ends by the one class brings about disadvantage to the other, as each man's own observation must force him to admit.

All of us, without exception, feel—each one in his own way and some more, some less—the consequences of deficient culture and faulty education at every stage, in our various relations of life and spheres of work, and we have had to contend against these ill consequences our whole life long.

Before all others, however, the place where the ill consequences of deficient education in the various grades of culture make them-

selves most felt is the household, the family ; and it is the education and culture of the children that is at fault, especially of the children from the time they leave their mother's arms up to school-age. Who does not know, even the most patient and devoted mother, how hard it is, especially in the age just referred to, to keep children occupied suitably and for any length of time ? Who does not know how hard it is to find maids or nurses for very young children ?

{ The true care for genuine education therefore rests upon you, O mothers, wives and maidens, beyond all others, for it is you who are the first and the most concerned in the consequences of faulty education. To you, God and Nature, and the customs of life and of society almost exclusively entrust the earliest education of man, of the child, in your capacity of mothers or daughters, or of assistants to one or the other.

How rare it is that you find surrounding circumstances free from hindrance in your task ; how far rarer it is that you find them truly helpful to you ; how rare that you can fairly claim yourself to possess the necessary insight, the practical knowledge fitting you for your task, upon a truthful scrutiny ; how rare that you can engage the assistance of some one who is properly qualified, or who has ever enjoyed facilities for so qualifying herself !

Natural instinct and good example will do much in this regard, it is true ; but here, as in all human concerns, one must proceed by extension of knowledge and by careful scrutiny, or both the one or the other may mislead or be misdirected. Experience cries aloud to us, to warn us of this danger. You feel this, and you know this, all too well, true-hearted, good, and noble parents, upright judges against yourselves ! Man shall assuredly not neglect his natural instincts, still less abandon them, but he must ennoble them through his intelligence, purify them through his reason. Whatever a man does in his character of a member of humanity he has to do with insight and after careful scrutiny. Wherefore the yearnings of to-day after the realisation of a simple, easily managed method of children's education and children's care, expressing and satisfying the claims of child-life, turns with full confidence to you for their fulfilment, O German wives, mothers

and maidens, and beyond you to all Germans who love mankind and childhood.

Scrutinise what has been said above in the light of your soul's needs, of your life's wants, of your spirit's intuitions; always remembering that "the letter killeth," that every printed description or statement can but present a single detached phenomenon out of all the great living unity of real education; and then lend us your hands, helping and forwarding, and you shall see rise up before you in the German Kindergarten an educational life which shall be one and a whole; at all events, which shall be such, so far as regards the earliest years of education, which will serve as a beginning.

One hour of earnest observation of such an educational system in actual operation, or even a vivid account thereof, is more helpful towards the development of the general plan than the reading of a voluminous educational work; for by observation you can not only apprehend the truth of the system, but can see how it is actually carried out.

The German Kindergarten as Normal Institution must become an actuality, Kindergartens throughout the land, in town and country, as branches of the first, must also become actualities, that the word may become a fact, and this fact strike deep into our national life, to the salvation and blessing of all—of *all*! For it is important to all alike, that a thorough and sufficient and truly humane scheme of children's education shall exist, and shall be applied to all the various special conditions of our life.

With lightning speed flashes through our heart the evil example of wicked men, and so is it with the evil example of naughty children, striking upwards from below, striking downwards from above. Every one knows that it is hardly possible for the most careful parents to protect their children from the poison of evil example, or indeed, to know from what quarter the pest may come; and through its habit of springing upon its victim in this unexpected fashion it is able to inflict so much the deeper and deadlier hurt upon the young soul. The consequences may not be apparent—and this is one of the worst aspects of the evil done—until years afterwards. Have you not known cases where the

hearts of the children of some pure and noble minded family have in an instant been poisoned in this wise?

But there is another and almost more powerful enemy of the blessed ignorance of childhood, of the purity of the children's heart and soul, which, like the blight and canker in the world of plants, manifests its presence by the stagnation of the vital fluid. This enemy is the mischievous idleness which results from our not satisfying or from our misdirecting the natural longing for some mode of activity which is inherent in all children.

From this there is no other salvation for us—think of this, ye parents, ye mothers, ye lovers of men and of children, of what class soever ye be!—no other salvation than in a comprehensive, general, thorough, early (nay, the earliest) education, exactly fitted to the needs of the child and of the future man in the child, such as is given us in the Kindergarten system, and in the German Kindergarten especially.

If we fail to eradicate the evil during childhood we shall never cease to grieve over it, for it will continue to make itself felt as now, in families, schools, churches, and the whole public life of the land.

The separate *crèches* and infant schools which now exist are quite insufficient to cope with this evil; for as to the *crèches* their care is simply of externals, and as to the infant schools they are individually separate, each one being fitted for some special condition of society—and further, though their intention is good, they only train the memory, neglecting or insufficiently attending to the creative and expressive needs, which, however, are the most essential needs of little children.

Therefore the *crèches* and infant schools must be raised into Kindergartens, wherein the child is treated and trained according to his whole nature, so that the claims of his body, his heart, and his head, his active, moral and intellectual powers, are all satisfied and developed.

Not the training of the memory, not learning by rote, not familiarity with the appearances of things, but culture by means of actions, facts, and life itself, bring a blessing upon the individual, and thereby a blessing upon the whole community; since each one, be he the highest or the humblest, is a member of the com-

munity : now, the training of the Kindergarten is alike of the head and heart, and educates at one and the same time towards skilfulness in action and towards rectitude in life.

Therefore work, work, all of you who are friends to the earlier satisfactory training of children—and who is not a friend thereto?—work with a will, that we may raise up and develop an educational life for the culture of childhood in its model or normal form, and in its fullest power, in the shape of the German Kindergarten.

Many noble, highborn, wealthy persons of your sex, who are also at one with you in mind and soul, German wives and maidens, and many of the true German friends of Man have already entered into bonds of fellowship towards this end.

The prospectus and balance-sheet of the German Kindergarten is already before you all, and a supplementary* pamphlet will soon be placed in your hands. But the response hitherto received has not been sufficient to enable the work to make a beginning, even in its earliest and simplest form ; for the subscriptions are not enough for the permanent appointment of even one “mother” of a Kindergarten, and therefore at present the children cannot be assembled continuously in a Kindergarten and be continuously busied there, according to the spirit of our institution.

But in order that you may at least in some measure educate and occupy the children in the spirit of this method the three works mentioned at the head of this address, fruits of patriotic effort and collective action, have been published. They are here laid before every one who considers the idea to be worthy of his support and justified by facts. And although what is here offered you is not of great bulk, yet it constitutes, with the life it affords you the opportunity of creating for yourselves, a work of importance ; it is the fruit of the belief in the future lying before it, which the idea of the German Kindergarten has been already able to inspire in many noble-hearted and experienced persons, especially true-hearted mothers and sensible wives. Rejoice, ye noble ones, when you read this. Rejoice, if any good result towards the early training of children springs from what is here laid before the world ; for if so, it will be due to the truly maternal solicitude with which you cared for and protected those first thoughts which

have ever since been struggling to express themselves in the form of the Kindergarten. For one thing, we have here disposed, once for all, of the objection, "What is the use of the German Kindergarten to foreigners? Can they derive any benefit from it?" Believe me, the blessings of the Kindergarten already rise like the stimulating odour of flowers into the lofty palace, and sink like cool, refreshing dew into the poorest hut. And yet the work is but still in the bud.

Examine closely the publications which are here set before you as a preface, so to speak, or example, showing the spirit and the method of the whole work. These fragments are not presented as a system complete in itself, and still less are they to be regarded as worked out and properly adapted for all degrees of culture and all conditions of life; these developments will follow in good time.

Meanwhile, in all love and sympathy for children, use the material which has here been made ready to your hand; so that, encouraged by the result which is sure to follow, you may join in association with the noble and large-hearted friends of man in every rank of society, and with them take good care that the work shall not shrivel in the bud. May you find yourselves impelled to unite together and aid the work to complete itself, to develop into actual life, in theory and practice, possessed of ways and means; for association strengthens and makes efficient the work of each individual, as well as serving for a normal type and a fruitful life-source for other such associations and circles.

Now help, all ye who know the meaning of the words "child" and "education"—and who is there who was not once a child, or who has not received the benefits of education?—help a work which, like Christianity itself, or like a blossom of that sacred tree of life (which sees in every child a citizen of Heaven, and which, on this account, demands from us the care of children), brings salvation and blessing to every one and rejects none. Help a work which so thoroughly arouses and nurtures life, regards it as a gift of God, and carries out the sense of one connected whole, even down to the smallest details, that its least influence upon the child never remains without some blessed result.

Ye wives and maidens of richly endowed soul, clear intelligence, and energetic readiness to take up every good work in all the provinces of Germany, who are deeply convinced of the value and importance of the object here proposed, unite and bring together the wives and maidens of your neighbourhood, and show them how, in furthering this nationally beneficent scheme, they will also be consulting their personal weal and founding the well-being of their present or future family; make it come vividly home to them that to no one can the happiness of the household or the family lie more closely to heart—which is as much as to say the early and thorough culture of children—than to them, who are knit close for their whole lives to the home and the family. Show them that whoever wishes to lay deep and sure foundations for true family weal (and who wishes it not, even as maiden, still more as mother?) can find the foundation stone nowhere else than in the family-life; namely, in the educating home-influence, which rules within the family; and that it is precisely the task which the German Kindergarten has set before it (and it will be the task likewise of the other Kindergartens which will spring to life in every town and province) to arouse that true, universally binding, universally contenting, educating spirit in all families, in all German lands, to stimulate it to free and active life, to nourish it into fullest strength. It is quite true, therefore, as was said above, that each one is consulting and furthering his own interest who is furthering the interest of the German Kindergarten. Should those of the middle classes object, “The subscription is too heavy”; then answer them—“Who asks you to subscribe a whole share each? who asks for your subscription to be paid down all at once? who asks for it as a free gift, your interest or profit in which vanishes when you pay it in?” All this is silly, but one nevertheless very often hears these futile objections.

However, this money question is not the real cause of the frequent unwillingness to take part in our enterprise, this is not what keeps people back. Rather is it that they need convincing of the truth of the whole system, that their heart and soul have yet to be stirred to seek their children’s welfare, and to

win the hope which they have set upon those children, or even upon their grandchildren, still unborn, so that they have yet to be made to perceive the future results, the blessings already bestowed and those now arriving through the Kindergarten ; convince them of this, and you will find not one way, but many ways at once becoming possible, whereby to forward the great work—and they themselves will indicate which ways, and will hold out helpful hands to cheer you on.

Let me give a few examples of suggestions given me by sympathising womanly souls, of means useful for gaining the co-operation of very small and poor communities. One of these friends of Man gave it as her advice that on every work-day a very small subscription should be collected, such as would in all amount to sixpence, and that should go on for a year. Suppose the wives or maidens subscribing give but a farthing each, if there are twenty or twenty-four of them, 5*d.* or 6*d.* would be raised every day. Could not this be done anywhere, with a little energy? Certainly it could. Gather together, then, wives and maidens of every place, be it the smallest of parishes. Will you not give these small sums during a year in order that ways and means may be given you, and that you may be strengthened for the pursuit of your especial vocation as religiously minded and yet also enlightened, practical and experienced guardians of children, some of you as daughters in your own families, some as assistants in the families of others, some active as mothers, rich in blessed works, some preparing for future motherhood? Another noble-minded friend of your sex adds the following suggestion :—That women's handicrafts should be plied collectively, in what are called Ladies' Working Societies, some perhaps aiding in the work by providing materials, others by making them up. The articles thus made would then be disposed of in the usual manner, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of one or more shares in the German Kindergarten, which might remain the joint property of all those who took part in the Working Society, at the same time being a pleasant reminder of their association in a work as Christian as it is humane, and of their true German womanly spirit. You see how

many ways one may discover of helping not merely to found this beneficent undertaking, but even to bring it to completion in all its perfection. And these ways are sure and simple, directly working towards the great purpose. As soon as by the co-operation of all, which makes it so easy for each one, the German Kindergarten shall have been erected, then also will local Kindertartens spring up in every neighbourhood. Personal visits to the Kindergarten actually at work will do more in an hour towards your local aims than your propaganda could effect in a month, and the Kindertartens will at once supply the finest possible spheres of culture for yourselves and for your daughters. And if, as was above indicated, substantial support can be given to the undertaking by combining and sharing the burden, as regards circles possessing but little means, how much more easily can it be given by those more fortunate in this world's goods—at all events, by the united action of the several members of one family kindred.

Besides this, let us repeat once again, the entire Institution remains the property of all the shareholders, each one having a property in it, according to the amount of his share, and the property passing with the shares in the event of a change of holders.

Ever increasing is the cry of need for properly qualified assistants in the care of children of tender years, call them nursery maids, nursery governesses, or what you will; ever increasing are the inquiry and the competition for such qualified guardians of childhood. By the ordinary methods this need cannot be lessened nor this inquiry satisfied. The establishment first of the German Kindergarten and then the general growth of local Kindertartens which will follow on, can alone bridge this difficulty; first, by rendering it possible for girls without means, even for quite poor girls, if they are thoroughly modest and religious, to qualify themselves for the care of young children by the simple plan of giving them credit for the fees of their education in the Institution, which they would have to repay from the proceeds of their first earnings, by instalments covering a specified number of years.

It is now quite clear what the German Kindergarten aims at, and how it desires to proceed ; that it springs from the everlasting source, rests on the everlasting basis, and returns again to that source and to that basis ; and yet once more let it be said that the way from the lifeless letter, through the eye into life, is a long one, and that what the human mind wants is rather direct observation and representation of life itself.

Wherefore, all ye noble ones, all ye friends of Man, who are persuaded of the truth of what has been set forth herein, deal with it each one after her own manner, and according to the means lying nearest to her hand, that the work may germinate, grow green, bear blossom and fruit, and prove a blessing to every German family and the salvation of every German child.

Believe then, oh, believe, in the faith of a true German ! Believe that German faithfulness, German truth, German wide-reaching practical activity, German rectitude and candour—in spite of unfriendly criticisms—do live and move in the breast of a German. Believe, moreover, in his unselfish love ; that only wishes to do good to every young growing soul, now and in his future relations ; that would therefore early put within reach of each child the way and the means by which he may fulfil his duty in his present position and in that to come ; and that in consequence would neither favour nor prejudice any child. Such a love of man is like the air that cools every one's heated brow, like the water which refreshes all alike, like the earth which bears all men on her bosom, like the light which shines on the whole world.

Forget not the wisdom of ancient German proverbs, centuries old, "The weal and woe of every man lies within his own bosom." They have lain there from everlasting, but never before was it so clearly apparent as it now is.

Work with a will that belief may come, with love and trustfulness, so that the idea which lies at the root of the German Kindergarten, and of Kindertgartens in general, may shine forth clearly and on all sides, before its discoverer sinks into his grave. If you fail, then fails the realization of his idea. It cannot be otherwise, as the history of ideas will show you ; for many noble ideas have lain in the grave during long, long years with those who

unsuccessfully first strove to give them "a local habitation and a name." Yet he may depart in peace, he may die in a good hope, for if the worst befall, he has done what he could and ought; according to the deepest conviction has he spoken, and has faithfully worked his hardest for what he has held to be true.

(3.)

Two Letters of Froebel to Madame Müller, wife of Councillor Müller, of Homburg.

LETTER I.

Keilhau, near Rudolstadt,

11th May, 1845.

MUCH-ESTEEMED LADY, AND MOST VALUED FRIEND,—

Your kind letter of the 9th inst.,¹ which I have just received, has so greatly pleased me that I am compelled to sit down and answer it at once.

First, I must express my sympathy in your maternal happiness, now that you behold your daughter a bride, full of rich hopes. It is remarkable, man though I be, that I seem as if I could share with my every nerve and sense in your great joy. I perceive right well what a difference it must make to the loving faithful mother whether she has to regard her son as a bridegroom, or her daughter as a bride. In the latter case her child's bridal makes her live her own experiences all over again, raised to a higher consciousness; her existence as wife and mother, her joys and griefs, her pleasures and sorrows all pass before her mind. And what life, how happy soe'er it be, has not its grief? and what life, how blessed soe'er it be, is without its sorrow? Good and profitable is it for Man that thus it is ordained; yet nevertheless every mother longs to guide her beloved daughter through a path of roses without thorns, as she moves forward to her highest vocation, to fulfil her especial duty towards humanity. The more nearly she finds it possible to accomplish this, the happier and

¹ Not the 18th, as the German erroneously has it.

more contented is her mother's heart. May I beg to add to the other felicitations of the engaged pair my own best wishes for their happiness.

✓ It always causes me deep emotion, as an educationist, when a maiden whom I know becomes a bride, and I am the more anxious and expectant when she is in very truth a maiden, with a pure maiden's feelings, thoughts, and actions, beliefs, hopes, and affections. I always begin thinking how, in the thoughts and inner life of that maiden, during her bridehood and early wifehood, there lies the germ of a new life for humanity with all the conditions needful for its out-budding; for the loving sentiments with which her soul is now vaguely filled will later on develop amidst the surroundings of the coming life, into definite precision; and all history, as well as our daily experience, shows us how largely the future of mankind hangs upon the progressive, and for that matter, upon the reactionary side also, of the life of some one human being. I know that this view would only meet with jeers, or worse, if I were publicly to proclaim it, and I do but scarcely hint it even to myself, yet I can think of these questions in this way and no other. Every virgin bride reminds me that salvation came to mankind through a Virgin Bride; and in every virginally minded bridegroom I see the angel who meets her with the heavenly greeting. In truth it must so come to pass; every family must again become God-consecrated, must approximate more and more nearly to the Holy Family, if ever the kingdom of the peace of heaven, of God and of Jesus is to come upon earth.

{ My valued friend, you cannot fail to see that this forms the background of all the system of culture and development of my Paradise of Children, my Kindergarten:—pure maidens and unsullied youths are to proceed from it in future days to elevate the conception of life, and to live it out in purity before men. Even if I never see it, nor the next generation, nor the generation after that, yet it will come to pass in the end, and mankind shall see the perfect life lived upon this earth, the conditions thereunto being now fulfilled. Herder's apostrophe to women—"Think and teach, for ye alone can, the happy generation which will one day follow after ours," will ring in the ears of thy nobler souls among women

until many of them shall have become penetrated with its truth, and will then, at length, proceed to put it into action. You will observe, much-esteemed friend, that this is the aim towards which I am striving with my "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs," (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), so little known, so often misunderstood; and it is with gladness that I learn you perceive the influence of these songs in the Kindergarten, and in the living forms of your own children!

If your daughter now soon to be married should hereafter leave Homburg, she must imitate the excellent example of her mother and at once create a Kindergarten round her. In the Kindergarten—how often must you have experienced this—one can, as it were, actually feel the beat of the angels' wings whom our Father sends down to protect and shield His children.

In your kind sympathy you wish me to tell you what I have been doing in the work of children's education since I left Frankfurt. I respond gladly to your wish, though I have not much to tell. Upon my return home, a gentleman in Gotha, who had for a long time been taking a friendly interest in myself and my work was good enough to entrust his niece to me, a girl of eighteen years, to be trained in the care of children and the conduct of a family Kindergarten. I found another young woman in my own place ready for a like training; and therefore at once began a regular course with these two, and again took up my old occupation. The girl who shortly before had left me to undertake the direction of a *crèche* near Saalfeld has up to now, I am pleased to say, given satisfaction to her superiors. The second of the two girls I have just been speaking of has already found work in Salzungen.

From many quarters I receive applications for children's governesses, "Kindergarten teachers" as I would fain have them called, and for principals of Kindergartens as well. For example, they write to me from Dortmund, where they are founding a normal school and a high school. But I have no one to recommend for the post, since those who have been trained by me up till now have always had their posts already settled before they came to me. You would give me much pleasure, and what is of more importance, you would help forward the cause, if you could

find a couple of right good girls, of the stamp of your Nanni, for example, and send them to me for training. They must be able to pay the fees during the course, but these are only two thalers (six shillings) a week for board, lodging, and teaching.¹ The more this system of children's education is welcomed, and the more it comes into actual practice, the more important it is to provide thorough trained persons, competent to direct the institutions which are founded. If you meet with such persons, qualified in mind and body for our vocation, make it your business, in the interest of the world of children, to win them to the task.

Another piece of work which greatly occupied me after I came home was the formation of "Associations of German Men and Fathers for the Promotion of Education." My address on this subject must have already reached you in the columns of the *Didaskalia*.² The idea met with much encouragement in these parts.

* * * * *

(*Cetera desunt.*)

LETTER II.

Keilhau, 16th July, 1848.³

DEAR MADAM,—

You were amongst the first of the thoughtful German ladies thoroughly to comprehend my aim in the improvement of the common education of children, not only to give it its proper meaning and its place in the education of mankind, and also to obtain State recognition for it. You showed your appreciation of my ideas by raising the narrow, almost negative, work of your *crèche* into the broad, educationally progressive, positive work of a Kindergarten. Years have passed since that time, when my endeavours

¹ Even if we take into account the greater value (roughly speaking, about the double) of money in Froebel's day, these fees must strike the reader as absurdly low. Nothing, perhaps, could more strikingly prove how sincere was Froebel's love for his life-work, and what great sacrifices he was prepared to make for it.

² An important educational literary and scientific journal of the period.

³ Three years later than the previous letter.

first met with your helpful sympathy, and we have been steadily working on in our respective spheres with hardly any news of each other ever since. But I have always remembered your Kindergarten work with the warmest wishes for its success, and have greatly appreciated your recognition of the fundamental principles of the Kindergarten when I set them forth in their original form.

It seems to me, therefore, a pleasant duty to be fulfilled, that I should inform you of the latest results of my efforts. The entire body of national school teachers of the duchies of Meiningen and Coburg, and the National School teachers of the kingdom of Saxony also have acknowledged the Kindergarten to be the formation of real German national education ; and they are petitioning their chief authorities to recognise it as the earliest, and therefore a highly important department, of the system of national education, and they ask that it should be incorporated, with all its various institutions, in that system, receiving like privileges and like support with the other departments.

That such a result should follow upon the request which these teachers made for a searching examination into the aims and methods of the Kindergarten, or rather into educationally progressive instructions in general, comes from the nature of the thing itself ; and it was quickly resolved to hold a conference where several might meet to discuss the matter, an idea which has now developed into a public invitation to this conference being addressed to all German National teachers and educationalists. The invitation appeared in No. 25 of the *Saxon School Journal* for 12th July, a few copies of which I venture to send you.

Since the members of this conference will of course desire to obtain as thorough a knowledge as possible of the aims and methods of the Kindergarten, a fresh necessity makes itself felt, namely, that they should see the results of the work of the established Kindergarten, and hear the experience of all those who have turned their earnest attention to the system in its practical application. Circulars have therefore been sent out requesting specimens of work and statements of experience for the conference.

It comes vividly before my mind, upon this, that you are blessed with a clear sight into these matters. You will therefore

think it quite natural for me to ask you especially to give an account of your experience in this field of work, in the form of an open letter which may be laid before us for friendly discussion. It would give us all pleasure if you would grant this request, and it would be a special pleasure to myself to get news once more of your beautiful and blessed work.

With the assurance of my especial esteem,

I am, yours faithfully,

FR. FR.

(4.)

Seven ¹ Letters of Froebel to the Kindergarten Teacher,
Mlle. Luise Frankenberg.²

LETTER I.

Keilhau, 13th Nov., 1846.

DEAR LUISE,—

I was quite astonished to find, on my return to Keilhau about a week ago, that you were no longer there, and I was much pleased to hear that you had so good a situation—good, that is, as far as salary and home comfort are concerned. But I soon heard that your situation is a very hard one in regard to work, and I satisfied myself that it really is so, on reading your clear account of it in your letter to Madame von Born. Now as to hard work there is not much to be said. Very great hardships may be overcome, and indeed they are sent to us for the purpose of being overcome, and in all circumstances it is our duty to overcome them, if they are commensurate with our strength. Having assured ourselves of this we must not run away from present difficulties; firstly, because we know what they are, and secondly, because “as thy days, so shall thy strength be.” But it is true

¹ Not “Six,” as in the German.

² Sister of Froebel’s friend and disciple, Adolf Frankenberg, who prepared the way for the master so ably in Dresden. Luise Frankenberg married Professor Marquardt, of Dresden.

that there are occasions when the difficulties are too great for our strength.

Now I trust implicitly to your own true judgment and your experience of life not to deceive yourself in this matter ; that is, neither to under-rate your strength, nor over-rate your difficulties. If your work is really harder than you can manage, please write to me at once, as it may be possible to find you a situation as Kindergarten teacher in the neighbourhood where you now are.

Send me word if you have any opportunity of going to Chemnitz, as I could send you a card of introduction to some one there. Here in Keilhau everything is going on in the old way. I have four students to teach. I wish I had a few more of them, because there is a project to open some new Kindergartens at Easter. Perhaps amongst your new acquaintances you may run against some young women of eighteen to twenty-eight with qualifications such as these : purity of character, love of children, fondness for play, and the gift of song ; and with a longing to be trained for the education of children ; if so, I beg you to put me in communication with them.

From all I send you kindest wishes : and I, in especial, cordially wish you well.

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER II.

Keilhau, 11th April, 1847.

DEAR LUISE,—

Your gay happy lines of 23rd February, from Dresden, were delightful to receive. I wish you joy from the bottom of my heart, upon this happy turn in your destiny, and give you my warmest thanks for the friendly privilege you have granted me by telling me all about it. Nor will I withhold my opinion, but on the contrary I will tell you openly that by holding fast to the habit of confiding in people and uniting with them, and especially to that of feeling a true, steadily maintained, and humanly natural spirit of thankfulness, such as that which breathes

through your dear letter, you are laying the real foundation for a happy development of your whole educational career.¹

Glance, dear Luise, at the spring, now beginning to burst forth and bud, to bloom and even in a concealed way to fruit; see how on all sides everything grows and develops so healthily and strongly, so freshly and merrily, through the continual and increasing influence of air and light, warmth and moisture, sun and earth. It is like some wondrous educationally progressive institution, where each one is fulfilling his own precise vocation, and is drawn forward according to the determination of his own nature. It is like some wondrous garden, nay, it *is* a very garden, wherein God trains His children for the aim and purpose of their existence. And is not this wonder due to the unbroken harmony of the life? Wherever that harmony is broken, there the life-development is narrowed and hindered.

Moreover, we see how the tiniest bud, plant or flower seeks to bind itself in harmony with air, light and sunshine. But what the powers and operations of nature are to the growth of nature, the powers of the mind and the working of the soul are to the growth of mankind, to the growing child. Therefore, dear Luise, in order to work holily in your adopted vocation, seek always after unfettered and unbroken harmony between mind and soul, such as manifests itself in your friendly letter.

This testimony of mine is old; it served as motto at the head of the mountaineers' greeting when we celebrated the foundation-feast of the German Kindergarten:—

“Thankfulness is the most lovely of human possessions, and the teaching of thankfulness is the greatest benefit that can be conferred upon mankind.”

But what else is thankfulness than the cherishing of the most intimate and spiritual communion between mind and soul?

You tell me how much pleasure it would give you to see me again in your Kindergarten, especially if I were to bring you something new. Perhaps you may be gratified in both points,

¹ Mlle. Frankenberg had recently received the appointment of teacher in the Kindergarten of the Women's Charitable Institution, at Dresden.

particularly if you were to extend your individual and personal wish to an invitation from several people. As to my bringing you something new and spirited, there is no trouble in that. Every day we work out something fresh in the students' course I now have on hand. The last course was very good; it bore charming blossoms and rich fruit, but the present course is far better, fuller of blossoms, heavier with fruit. And so will each succeeding course, assuredly, mount upon the shoulders of its predecessor; but if we all remain truly united in mind and soul whatever is thus newly won will become at once the possession of the past students as well as of the present.

Tell me, does your institution bear the name of Kindergarten by the order of the Ladies' Association, or is it an addition of your own? If the latter, then endeavour to get it acknowledged at once by the Association, as it is of unspeakable advantage. It forms a strong bond of union in mind and soul with all other Kindergartens and Kindergarten teachers, and with myself.

All here who knew you send their kind remembrances.

Always your faithful friend,

FR. FROEBEL.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER III.

Keilhau, 12th October, 1847.

MY VERY DEAR LUISE,—

You must have been wondering why you have had no answer to your kind letter of 18th August; but that letter had to be sent after me, as it arrived at Keilhau during my absence.

(Note: Some business matters follow, and are omitted.)

I am heartily glad that things go so well with you and your institution, though I can quite believe that it costs you a good deal of trouble, and that it is a long matter to get everything arranged as you like it. But patience overcomes all things.

If it had been possible I should have liked very much to visit you and the committee of the Ladies' Association in Dresden, but neither time nor money sufficed. Make my compliments to

the committee, especially to Mlle. Marschner. Tell her that I have firmly determined to write to-day to her : but it is now striking eleven, and the letter ought to go very early to-morrow to the post ! Besides all which, I am very tired.

I have also received most cheering accounts from Ida Seele and Marie Christ. From all sides, in fact, I hear of but one result. Even if the cause progresses but slowly, it is spreading more widely on every side. Particularly in the direction of a closer connection throughout the whole movement we are making great strides. Of this more soon.

I will only now add the hearty good wishes of all the ladies here ; and my own as well.

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER IV.

Keilhau, 13th February, 1848.

DEAR LUISE,—

Again you have given me real pleasure, with your last little letter. But she who is in so fortunate a position as to be able to give pleasure to others, must be happy also in herself, and cannot indeed help feeling so. Therefore I rejoice doubly over your kind words, which not only give me pleasure, but are in themselves an assurance that you are happy too ; and with good reason, for you are continually spreading joy in the circle of your daily work. I feel intensely, as do you, how the love of the little ones for you, and your love for the little ones—love and responsive love—grow by their mutual interchange ; and I am convinced that this must have had an excellent effect upon you, even from a purely physical point of view, for you write that you have begun this year under much more cheerful auspices as far as health is concerned. God grant they may be fulfilled.

Make this thing clear to your own mind—and encourage yourself with the thought of it, even if others seem unable to comprehend, or to acknowledge it—that while working in your own sphere, at the care and culture, the progressive development and the imperceptible formation of the character of children, you are in

fact engaged in a great and permanently advancing good work. It is also true that such work assuredly receives its acknowledgment in the long run, and that, too, according to the measure which it deserves, though this acknowledgment may be often late in manifesting itself.

This reminds me of the gratitude I now feel, as an old man nearing my grave, for the thoughtful care which, as I have been told, a young girl bestowed on me when I was a child. She herself was scarcely more than a child. It is a pleasant thought to me, to be able to assure myself, while I study the efforts of children to express their emotions, that my own little childish hands may have thankfully patted her cheeks in return for her goodness. And such sentiments of enduring thankfulness will become ever more and more general through our Kindergarten work, and you yourself will be rewarded by them even down to your last days.

* * * * *

As to the power of the thousand, and yet another thousand, of those mere prettily painted toys which you are so afraid of, I am perfectly convinced that it will be broken, or at all events much weakened, by the awakening interest of the children themselves for occupations which make for culture. The parents, as I have so often repeated, will in their turn discover by experience that children are far fonder of the simpler unpainted toys, and are happier and play longer and in a more permanently educational way with them, than is the case with all the thousand painted things.

Your wish that this year may see me amongst you all in Dresden may possibly be fulfilled, if your dear sister-in-law, who so enthusiastically enters into all the circumstances of our life, is able to carry out a plan which she has told me about. I should be able to tell you of many a new invention for the benefit of that world of children which is so dear to us both.

On the 1st proximo a new Kindergarten is to be opened at Erfurt. Auguste Michaelis,¹ of Gotha, has decided to begin there

¹ Not a relative of the present Editor.

(at Erfurt) with twenty-five children. On the 1st May Madame Doris Lützens will found a Kindergarten in Hamburg. With a view to this she published an important article on the Kindergarten system in the *Hamburg News* of 5th November last (No. 47). You ought to try and get this article ; it would both interest and improve you.

If at any time you meet with newspapers containing anything relative to our work, pray make notes, at any rate, of the title and number of the paper, and send them to me at the first opportunity. It helps me greatly in my work to know how I stand in the eyes of the world, and where I may find persons who are in sympathy with my views. Even in your Saxony the cause gains more and more adherents. A short time ago I had a letter from a Herr Stade, of Reichstädt, a teacher, who wrote very appreciatively about our affairs and asked me to send him samples of several of our educational materials. I could only wish Herr Stade would visit you or your brother. He seems from his letter to be an active-minded practical young man.

In Zöblitz, in the Upper Erz mountains, a teacher, Herr Krömer, has established a Kindergarten, which is really a result of that at Marienberg ; and I hear from Superintendent Schneider at Marienberg that the new institution is making healthy progress, and also that they are doing well at Marienberg, under the intellectual and spirited direction of Mlle. A. Steiner.

As to Luise Levin,¹ who is sending you news of herself, I have only to repeat my former accounts of her progress ; she is taking the greatest possible pains to put herself in thorough harmony with her work, both as to the spirit of her life and as to her technical proficiency. If, therefore, later on a fitting opportunity should offer, you might recommend her with the fullest confidence.

(Here follow names of several Kindergartens.)

I bid you cordially farewell.

FR. FROEBEL.

¹ Who became Froebel's (second) wife three and a half years later (July, 1851).

LETTER V.

Marienthal, 18th Jan., 1851.

DEAR LUISE,—

After a long silence you are now to receive another letter from me. I always find pleasure in writing to you. It has been a long uncomfortable time that I have been cut off from you, from that Dresden which had become so dear to me, and still more from the friends in Dresden whom I had grown to esteem so highly, and by whose many manifestations of affection I set such store. The reason of our long separation, if I may speak symbolically, precisely resembles the events of May at Dresden,¹ for the invisible yet lovely and, as it seemed, substantial building of hope crumbled overhead and fell upon me, burying me alive in its ruins.

Ever since that time I have been working away like some buried miner to win out from night and the depths of the earth to the light of day and the living men above, and especially to those among them who are my friends, but not seldom when I have thought that in another few moments I might be able to raise the joyful shout "Light!" I have sunk anew into the depths, almost deeper than before. It has been a very dreary miserable time. I cannot depict the curious condition of mind, soul, and life in which I was, entangled in a spider's web, or rather spun around in a cocoon. My soul and mind were afflicted with a creeping malady which ate them away like a cancer, and this trouble fell upon me before I was aware of its coming.

Not until the beginning of the new year did day break upon me and surround me and abidingly dwell with me, and perhaps by the time May comes again, the second May since 1849, I may have dug my way completely out and up into the land of the living, or let me say rather into life. With each fresh word I write I draw a deeper, fuller breath, and my spirits rise. I feel like a man crossing a mountain, who inhales the fresh mountain air and enjoys the open landscape of the valley meadows stretch-

¹ The revolution of May, 1848, when the high political hopes entertained by the progressive party were doomed to bitter disappointment.

ing before him, and assures himself that he will soon be near that lovely goal of his wanderings. I think I shall soon be able to visit my very dear Dresden friends again, free in soul and in mind; pray say so to Herr Strauch and the two Lecerfs, who stand so high in my esteem. As for your good brother, I intend to put in a few lines for him with this letter.

Now to answer your kind letter of the 14th inst. The foregoing will give you a notion of the cause wherefore three letters of yours, as well as letters from several other friends, have remained unanswered. I may put the matter in another way, thus:—

The reins of life had fallen from my hands. I felt unable to resume them, or attempt anything that related to the conduct of life. It was as if I were in a state of coma, and I saw and felt nothing but that I was in this paralysed condition. Others experienced the effect of this, especially the dear friends in Dresden. Yet even at this time I thought of every one, yourself included, with all kindness, and I am glad that the consciousness of this kept you unchanged in your trust towards me. I thank you for it, and hope that no one may have lost faith in me because of my apparent neglect.

I have always felt the greatest interest in your life, and am glad to find you once more speaking with such good courage that you even think of founding a Kindergarten of your own. I cordially wish you success. In this regard do not forget A. M.'s¹ experience in Erfurt. She had many difficulties at first, it is true, to contend with, but now she prospers well; and I could tell you of many others who are working to the great satisfaction of both parents and children.

If only you had thought to tell me in what part of the country you mean to make your venture! I wish it were possible to carry out our old intention, and make you the Kindergarten teacher at Blankenburg, my Blankenburg. Ask Middendorff about this. There you would be well known and receive much friendly support; and I would help forward this plan in every possible way. Keilhau would be quite near to assist you; and if

¹ Auguste Michaelis (see previous letter)

the income was small, the expenses would be less there than anywhere else.

I enclose a testimonial for you, as you request. But a testimonial to be effective must rely on facts, and I find that many particulars have escaped me as to our mode of working together, time, place, etc. Therefore tell me plainly if it is not sufficient for your purpose.

You see that your hope has been fulfilled. Yesterday I received your kind letter, and to-day the answer is already written. Write to me as soon as possible with further details of your plans.

Kind regards to your brothers, your sister-in-law, and yourself, from your true friend,

FR. FR.

LETTER VI.

Marienthal, 29th Jan., 1852.¹

DEAR AND HIGHLY ESTEEMED LUISE,—

Your kind letter gave me a double pleasure, first, because it brought me fresh news of you, and secondly, because the news was at the least fairly satisfactory. From the bottom of my heart I wish success to your courage, to your perseverance, in a word, to your trust in God, and to your steady use, having that feeling always in mind, of your powers and acquirements. This habit of feeling and action will assuredly accompany you, and those qualities will be like protecting genii always stationed beside you.

Try ever more and more to penetrate to the spirit of the whole, the spirit of union and unity, the spirit of mutual support and furtherance in all that the dear children entrusted to your care may do, and in all that you may do with them; the spirit of the link of agreement, the reconciliation of opposites, the spirit of real life-culture, of true love. Read my *Weekly Journal of*

¹ There is some mistake of the German editor as to this date. The letter follows evidently not far after Letter V., *i.e.* during 1851; but by error bears the same date as Letter VII.

Education,¹ and do not merely read it, but really study it. Be in yourself both the gardener and the plant in your garden of children, your Kindergarten. Work out everything for yourself, and observe what happens in your own mind, soul, and life. Make yourself mistress of the circumstances, in this way, in your mind and practice ; and carry the same principles into your work in the Kindergarten and with your little ones, observing what happens also to them ; and in this way it will not be long before the knowledge of the spirit of the whole comes to you.

Helpful and encouraging recognition of your work will also come in good time. Enough for to-day. Your dear namesake² has probably sent you all further news, herewith.

Your sincere Friend,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER VII.

Marienthal, 29th Jan., 1852.

DEAR AND MUCH-ESTEEMED LUISE,

I am deeply gratified to learn from your letter that you have perceived the great fact that in order to win a satisfactory acknowledgment of the meaning and value of our work it is not enough merely to labour well and bravely within our allotted sphere of action, but that the locality of this sphere itself must have been carefully chosen for its position, its outward environment, and so forth, so as to be in harmony with our actual work, and truly helpful to us. Always be ready to make little sacrifices for the advantage of the cause, with this end in view, even if in other ways you have to give up something. I am firmly convinced that you will meet with an ample reward.

But I do not in the least mean by this that you should set inward things below the outward. God forbid ! The inward, the invisible, thought, love, zeal, these are always and for ever the chief things to cherish. I only mean that outward things serve to

¹ The *Wochenschrift*, a continuation of the *Sunday Journal* (*Sonntagsblatt*).

² His second wife, Madame Luise Froebel ; probably only recently then married, if this letter is, as we believe, dated August, 1851.

express these, especially as regards rendering them precise and clear, and manifesting their union with Nature.

If your work seems to need help in this direction, tell me so plainly, and I will see what is possible to be managed.

You must on no account give up Bautzen,¹ but strive your utmost to retain it. As for your foes, the clergy,² they must be vanquished. It is very cheering to know that men of importance, such as Deacon Seybt, are visiting your Kindergarten, and I hope many others may follow their example.

Could you not find a nice girl amongst the peasantry and train her into an assistant? Later on she might go as Kindergarten nurse into some family, and then bring her little charges with her to your Kindergarten. This would give you some one with whom to talk about your work and its results, which is always good for you in an educational sense.

Your namesake, my wife, sends you a sisterly greeting, and you have also the cordial good wishes of

Your faithful Friend,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(5.)

Letter to Miss Howe, at Leitheim, near Donauwörth.

Keilhau, 18th April, 1847.

First, let me offer my warmest thanks for your cordial sympathy with my efforts in education. I hope that your enthusiasm for the work may hereafter produce blessed results for the budding human race, somewhere or other in the world.

Your kindly meant proposal, which you suggest to me as the best way of attaining my life-aim—the establishment of my system of education (now proved by years of trial to be true, for it has

¹ Where Mlle. Frankenberg had established her Kindergarten.

² At this time the clergy were very strongly prejudiced against the Kindergarten, and no doubt had been using their influence against the movement in Bautzen. Kindertgartens were prohibited in Prussia, in 1851, as being anti-religious and socialistic in aim.

been fully tested by results), namely, *education by development*, in one of the great centres of the world, such as London or Paris, or in the United States of America, so that it may be thoroughly examined and applied on a large scale—has been put before me, many times already, by influential men. But there is one insurmountable objection to it as far as I am concerned—my want of a complete mastery of foreign tongues.

The educational scheme in itself, and the plan for carrying it into practice, are quite complete in every particular, and clearly and precisely arranged in my mind, and, indeed, they have already been many times applied in actual practice, whenever, and so far as opportunity has allowed. A small part of the system has been printed and published, but this consists of detached fragments only.

Every sharply defined grade of human culture, such as that under which we now live, demands a system of education which shall embrace the whole being of man, his mental and natural sides, and all his varied affinities and relations, and shall therefore, as true to both man and child, educate the latter progressively and by development, in such a way as to produce and constantly maintain a sense of unity and completeness running through the whole of its life.

Such a scheme of education is mine, and therefore it sets itself (and always, from the first plan, did set itself) the definite task of founding anew the practical methods of actual teaching, so as to bring them into satisfactory relation with the needs of our life of to-day; that is, from each grade of culture to produce the next higher grade, by natural and logically consecutive development, in the same way that we see the fruit develop from the blossom and ripen into seed. This will occur with the following plan.

PLAN.

I. Decision, zeal, and perseverance must be brought to bear in working upon my plan; so that

(a) More careful observation of the child, his relationships and his line of development, may become general amongst us; and thereby

(b) A better grounded insight be obtained into the child's being, mental and physical, and the general collective conditions of his life.

(c) The laws of educational progress may be more and more clearly deduced, for the child and the man, through the observation of those engaged in teaching; the truth of these laws proved, and the child actually trained in accordance with them.

(d) Deeper insight will be gained into the meaning and importance of the child's actions and outward manifestations; and also into

(e) The way of dealing with children which has been evolved naturally by the mother, led by her pure maternal instinct; treating both the mother's action and the child's as representative, regarding them firstly in relation to the child's destiny as a man, and secondly, to the means and methods of attaining that destiny. Thus, careful observation would be directed towards the combined mother-and-child-life, for it is here in a peculiar and especial sense that we are to seek the expression of the natural laws of development and their application, which laws, when deduced, are those whereby alone our problem can be fully and completely solved: that is, the problem of the general all-embracing progressive development and education of the child. Therefore, finally,

(f) It is the aim of my plan, by working so as to gain all the objects above enumerated, to bring about a more general use of *progressive development in the culture and education of children*; or rather, indeed, that this view of education may establish itself as the one which alone truly expresses and satisfies the needs of each individual as well as of each community, large or small.

According to the above it comes within the scope of my plan,

II. To lay down a scheme of culture covering the entire bodily and mental circumstances and conditions affecting the child, which must express, truly and harmoniously, the line of development and education to be followed.

As early as the year 1826 I took much pains to lay the foundations for such an undertaking by my book, called "The Education of Man" (*Menschen-Erziehung*).

But as the work of education really begins with the birth of the child, and must at first be pursued in the family, and especially by the mother, I started a journal (1838-40), called *The Sunday Journal* (*Sonntagsblatt*), to direct attention to this aspect of the matter, and in particular to begin and carry out an educational course planned in reference to this doctrine. The course eventually resolved itself into a quite unique form of practically educational book for the very first training of the child, that is, for mere babyhood; influencing and training the child's body, his limbs and his senses, as well as his soul, his mind and his whole inner nature—the book for mothers and families known as “Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs” (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*).

III. But such a course of training and occupations for children, answering to the laws of development and the laws of life, demanded a thoroughly expressive medium in the shape of materials for these occupations and games for the child: therefore, to meet this want I arranged a series of play materials under the title of “A complete series of gifts for play.”

IV. The present condition of our social life, in all its varied grades, first demands, however, if we are to attain an earlier and better training for children, a much more complete training for their mothers and outside helpers, in the shape of children's nurses, nursery governesses and teachers. Whatever is itself perfect and vigorous will produce what is perfect and vigorous in its turn. But such a result can only be attained by associated work; just as in the education of children we absolutely need the association together of numbers of children alternately with the quiet of the home training. I therefore recognised as early as 1840, that for the needs of our present grade of social development two distinct species of schools or training establishments were absolutely necessary.

(A) We need a training establishment for those who are to assist in the home education of families in the capacities of children's nurses, nursery governesses and teachers. But, since children to a quite peculiar degree educate one another, mutually, if meeting together for associated play, under proper guidance and suggestive influence, we equally need

(B) Establishments for training quite young children, in their first stage of educational development, where their training and instruction shall be based upon their own free action or spontaneity, acting under proper rules ; these rules not being arbitrarily decreed, but such as must arise by logical necessity from the child's mental and bodily nature, regarding him as a member of the great human family ; such rules as are, in fact, discovered by the actual observation of children when associated together in companies. These establishments bear the name of Kindergartens, or "Gardens of Children," a name expressing both their aim and their methods of working.

(A) In the first-named species of training establishments, those for the training of teachers to assist educationally at home, in the family, the teachers for the second species of establishments, the Kindergartens, would also be trained. These last-named teachers might be called "Child-gardeners" (*Kindergärtnerinnen*), according to the work they will have to do as Kindergarten teachers. I made great efforts at the time of the Gutenberg Festival, in 1840 (400th anniversary of the invention of printing), to awake a general public interest in this matter, and to found a perfectly arranged Kindergarten Training College by public subscription. I have, however, hitherto failed to obtain the amount of public support necessary to carry out the establishment on the scale needed for completeness ; and I have, therefore, been compelled to do the best I could by private enterprise, alone, and without funds, working myself and at my own risk. Consequently, I have held a training course annually, the length of which I was forced to confine to six months, and the object of which was to educate young girls in Kindergarten methods so far as to enable them to take the entire educational charge of children up to school age. They are to occupy the children in such wise that ennobling and educationally progressive impressions shall remain imprinted on their minds, and they are to develop the children's ideas so as to tend towards the culture of their whole nature, and to the expression of every need of their life. Wherefore, I always associate

actual work in a Kindergarten with my Training Course to give my students opportunity for practice in their future duties.

The practical working of my training course is as follows :—

(a) The working day for students generally begins at 7 o'clock in the morning ; and they attend from 7 to 8 the various classes of the usual morning's religious instruction given in the elder boys' school, so that they may be guided to the right method of imparting religious instruction to children, and may be trained to the care and observation of the earliest germs of the religious instinct in man.

(b) From 8 to 9, breakfast and recreation.

(c) From 9 to 10, explanation and observation of the development of child-life, of the nature of the child thereby unfolded, and of the laws and corresponding needs of the culture and education of children ; as well as demonstration that these laws are at the same time essentially those of every satisfactory scheme of education.

(d) The rest of the various weekdays up till 7 o'clock in the evening, except for two breaks (for dinner and tea) is devoted by the students to the study and practice of practical efficiency in my methods for children's education. These comprise, amongst others,—

1. The acquisition of little games, arranged to exercise the limbs and senses of the child, using also the family nursery-book before mentioned.

2. The acquisition and practice of other games for children, arranged to serve special ends, and particularly suited to varied grades of development, these games being played with the material already referred to in Section III. These games collectively form a series, linking themselves one to the other into a harmonious whole, full of life and vigour, and bringing out, amongst them, every phase and side of the child's life.

3. Further acquisition of many and varied little occupations or handicrafts in various materials, bearing the same causal connection with the games before referred to as a fruit bears to its flower, and expressing all possible grades of the child's development with precision. This department of the training course is

in the highest degree important for the student ; indeed, it is quite as important as the preceding, because the child exercising its own spontaneous activity through these handicrafts, and becoming acquainted with common facts of life, is carried forward in the path of education as a firmly compact, vigorous, complete unity.

4. Practice in combined games for many children, and particularly action-games, which will, from the first, train the child (by his very nature eager for companionship) in the habit of association with comrades, that is, in good fellowship and all that this implies. A logically necessary part of my system, deeply rooted in the innermost principles of the whole, is the fundamental rule that frequent changes must be made in the children's games and occupations, and for these changes (which must be by no means left to chance to determine, but must be well thought out) the students of the Kindergarten system must be thoroughly prepared. For example : to games for individual children succeed games for the whole Kindergarten together ; to games which involve sitting or standing still succeed games which involve action. The child in these associated games alternately appears first as taking some individual or separate part, and then as merely one of several closely knit and equally important members of a greater whole, so that he becomes familiar with both the strongly opposed elements of his life ; namely, the individual determining and directing side, and the general ordered and subordinated side. And all this must, of course, invariably be suited to the nature of the child ; to the course of development which is being pursued ; to his physical capacities, etc., and must express the outward circumstances of his life, their condition and laws. The aim is to train the child harmoniously on all sides of his being, and to bring him to comprehend the intelligent, the well-mannered, the moral, and finally, the religious elements in life. One of the most powerful agencies for furthering this aim is Singing, which works by words and by musical tones, by meaning as well as by melody.

5. Therefore, further, the students have to be specially trained in children's songs, little songs to elevate the heart and open the mind ; partly used also to accompany the many various games

played by the children, in which case they are carefully devised to lay bare the inner meaning of the game, and also to serve as an outlet for the spontaneous and diligent activity of the children; and, further, these songs always set forth the harmony, the inner concord, and the love which pervade the universe, and which make known to us the Creator as our true and loving Father.

It is acknowledged that children entrusted to the care of teachers of this kind quickly gain pleasure in singing, and some amount of executive power; and even the love for real music itself awakes within them, and is cherished. To the culture of the heart, the soul, and the intellect through the ear, by the means of song, corresponds precisely their culture through the eye by the means of beautiful forms, figures, and colours. And to singing in the one case correspond drawing and colouring in the other.

6. The rudiments of *drawing* are therefore invariably and quite completely developed amongst the students through the study and constant practice of the various games, especially those involving construction, partly by the culture of the eye in judging of size and form, and partly by the use of the hand in the constructive work.

7. The necessary naming of objects, and the description of their properties, and relationships in drawing, bring us quite naturally to the consideration of the beginnings of *speech*. And in the simplest way, by the necessity of expressing words and tones in some visible manner—that is, by definite signs which may be seen, we reach *Writing* and *Reading*; the passage being quite spontaneous, and satisfying the inner as well as the outer nature of the child, his natural instinct for active work driving him towards presentation of all kinds.

8. The continually growing crowds of all kinds of objects, and their comparison together, necessitate the consideration of the first rudiments of *Number*, and its relationships.

9. And since Order, Measure, Rhythm, Form, Size, Number, Ratio, etc., are on all sides visible and audible, nay, even they may often also be touched and tasted, it seems as if everything were pointing to *Mathematics* as the one true way, and the one

true science of order and knowledge, as, so to speak, the central point of all true perception of things ; and that is why she has to show herself to the child, but in purest childlike guise, and like the earnest wayworn philosopher becoming herself a child for the child's sake. And the same paths by which the child is led, through the quiet observation of fixed forms and objects, are also opened to him even more readily by comparison of the living and moving forms and objects of animated nature. Wherefore, in no less a degree than to the foregoing,—

10. The students must devote themselves to the thoughtful observation of Nature, as a book and a scripture of God, and to the introduction of the little ones entrusted to their care to the same study, through which they may be led on to perceive and acknowledge the Father who loves them all, the Creator of this world of beauty. Through all nature, especially the vegetable world, the kingdom of bud, and flower and fruit, fly the angels, silent, bearing holy messages to us from Him. Therefore, also,—

11. The students must acquire some knowledge of the cultivation of plants, and flowers and gardens. Gardens for children should receive their special attention, as these are an important means of education and development, and therefore form part of the Kindergarten system.

12. The self-consciousness, the feelings and the thoughts awakened by all these means of stimulus must be linked to the *Word*, must be made manifest in little songs or proverbs. This is especially the case as regards the dim perceptions of a wise Creator of Nature, and a Father who thinks for us and loves us.

(B) The students get their practice with classes of children ; twice a week with our own children, and a few others from the village, and twice a week also with a larger class in the next village.

Just one word now on the Kindergarten itself, in which all the above scheme is brought into practical application. The Kindergarten is to undertake the entire care and training of the child from the earliest possible age to school-age, that is, till he is six or seven years old. As to age much depends upon the grade of development of the individual child, and much upon the culture of the teacher.

I can but hope that the *résumé* of my method for the early care of children may meet with your approval. For further details I will refer you to my published works.

Receive the assurance of my special esteem, and believe me,

Yours faithfully,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(6.)

Letter to Mlle. Marschner, of Dresden.

Keilhau, *Sept. 2nd*, 1847.

DEAR MADAM,—

Permit me to put before you, for your examination, a matter which is of the highest importance in my educational projects. For some time I have felt the necessity of issuing a short explanatory address about my institution for the training of nurses and governesses for young children—a sort of programme of it, in fact. But up till now I have continually put off its preparation, knowing so well how much more readily one can express one's meaning by facts than by words; and, indeed, the simpler and more precise a written account is desired to be, the harder is it to write. I trust, however, that the sketch I send you herewith is both simple and precise, and at the same time I hope it possesses also a much higher quality.

I am most deeply convinced that in the present age there exist certain sharply defined needs with regard to the human race, which perpetually renews itself in childhood, and with regard to the grade of human culture whereon we stand to-day, at least so far as it is manifested amongst us Germans. Foremost of these needs of our age are the observation, care and training of the budding and growing part of the human race, that is, of children. Furthermore, I am as deeply convinced that our collective efforts in the improvement of education, whether the education of individual minds, or of families and communities, and whether in regard to the State or the Church, can only tend towards the desired result when we have made clear to our minds the nature

of these needs, and when we seek to supply them with active self-devotion.

Consequently, I bend my efforts, above all else, towards the clear apprehension of the present grade of human culture, and its educational needs; and I seek after the true means of satisfactorily meeting those needs. The soul of a woman who thinks and teaches is so sure a touchstone for what is right in time and place, as well as in ways and means, that I come to you in all confidence, to submit my aims and my researches to your judgment. I want to know the impression the enclosed sketch makes upon you, even if it should be an unfavourable one. I only want the truth; for all my trust is anchored upon that.

So that you may quite understand my drift in this sketch, I should like to offer a few explanatory remarks.

Women, whatever their stage of culture, ought to take their rightful position with regard to the development and education of the human race; and this position ought to be universally acknowledged, whether with regard to the individual child, the family, or the entire nation. Woman's work must be many-sided, comprehensive, and must embrace action, feeling, and thought alike.

I speak of the whole female sex. The several spheres of work must be allotted to individual women according to their degrees of culture.

Again, I speak of the whole female sex, as contrasted with the whole male sex; the two sexes uniting in closely bound union to set forth the phenomenon of mankind as a complete fact—a Thing-in-itself. Just as head and heart go together to make up the perfect human soul; so do men and women unite with a close and reciprocal influence upon each other, to make up the complete presentation of humanity; and in this each sex takes a distinct part, according to its own individuality.

I set out from this conviction—Mankind is a complete fact, a Thing-in-itself, a *Thought of God*! Man, as a being of change and development, must necessarily be divided,¹ whence comes

¹ Necessarily; because, according to the teaching of Hegel, which Froebel here refers to, all development is the result of reconciliation or union of two opposites.

the opposition of the sexes ; and still further, the development of each individual man similarly necessitates his two-fold manifestation as a thinking and a feeling subject.

But the precisely similar duty of all women in relation to progressive education also follows of necessity as a consequence of these views : I mean, that their duty is similar as to its nature and importance, though women have many quite distinct spheres of work. To woman belongs the subjective element in education, the awakening and the culture of the inner mental world, in the budding human race, the child-world. And on the other hand, to man belongs the objective element, the outlook over the external world, and the comprehension thereof. Both these spheres of culture and development are alike essential. If we are to investigate their relative importance, however, we cannot do better than follow the analogy of a building, where a good and sufficient foundation is rightly regarded as the most important part of the structure ; or we may take our example from farming, where a vigorous germination, rooting, and commencement of growth is the most essential preparation for a good crop. Just so is it with man in his rise towards his lofty goal of culture ; certainly the most important step is the awakening, the fostering, and the culture of the child's mind and soul, that is, of the mind and soul of humanity renewing itself through childhood.

But, further, the education which men impart to our youths is never left to the unassisted promptings of nature, because, even though they are often quite right in intention, they may be wrongly pursued, everything must be thought out and duly ordered. So also must it be with the training of children by women, the development and education of manhood at its first commencement ; all must be thought out and duly ordered, after the laws which have been given to us by God.

You see, honoured madam, this is indeed at once the starting-point and the goal of all my educational efforts. I want to see, universally acknowledged, and in operation, the rightful position of the whole female sex, with regard to the education of the race ; each one working according to the measure of her power, her culture, and the nature of her environment. But women's

work in education must be based, not upon natural instinct, so often perverted or misunderstood, but upon intelligent knowledge, inspiring a nature originally child-loving, and penetrated with the lofty meaning of its task.

Some mothers, who by thought and by years of actual practice in their former days, in teaching and training children, had evolved a method of instruction of a certain kind, and had made this suffice for their own narrow circle, levelled the taunt at me, that I, a man, understanding nothing therefore of a mother's life, a mother's instinct, etc., etc., should dare to presume to instruct mothers in their dealings with their own children, a matter which they as mistresses of the household and as women, endowed with all the specially feminine qualities of soul and heart, must of course understand far better than I. How could such a thought enter my head as to attempt anything against the course of nature? My whole strength is exerted, on the contrary, to the work of getting the natural instinct and its tendencies more rightly understood, and more acknowledged; so that women may follow its leadings as truly as possible, aided by the higher light of intelligent comprehension, and yet at the same time in all freedom, and with complete individuality.

This is the intention of my games for the educational development of the powers, this the purpose of my Kindergarten, this the aim of my institution for the training of nursery governesses and teachers of children.

I observe that in pursuing my line of thought I have laid before you not merely an explanation of the plan of the proposed institution which accompanies this letter, but the entire scope of the views as to the progressive development of mankind which form the basis of my whole system; but I gladly submit these also to your kindly and searching examination.

It is very possible, dear madam, that you may hold views of human life and its needs quite other than those I have expressed; but I beg you to criticise me with the utmost frankness, for I seek only the truth. In any case, I shall have submitted my views, I am sure, to a very severe examination in submitting them to you.

Whatever verdict I may obtain at your hands, even if it be blankly adverse, rest assured of my continued deep respect, and believe me,

Your obliged

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(7.)

Letter to Mlle. Hesse, of Annaburg.

Keilhau, near Rudolstadt, *Nov. 27th*, 1847.

DEAR ANNA,—

Now, as our musicians say, I can write to you *con amore*, which has been up to this time impossible for me to manage. I can picture you to myself surrounded by your charming circle of little children, stimulating the tender life towards loving sacrifice, strengthening the feeble will with gentle earnestness, and developing the immature physical powers. I see you with my mind's eye, engaged in translating into the glowing language of the living soul what I have taught you in the still life of the understanding ; expanding what our limited time here only allowed us to work out along some one set path, into a many-sided, lovely, ever-varying method, penetrating deep into the life of the dear ones entrusted to your charge, awaking them to the perception of the inner life, and already cherishing that sense of an altogether higher life, which as yet exists all unconsciously within them. Thus do I see you, dear Anna, busy amidst your many glad tasks ; and I enjoy the picture more than I am able by words to express.

Yet even a little word sometimes serves to bind all together : let me therefore rejoice over you, in one word, as over a very dear, true-hearted and faithful *daughter*. As I write the word *daughter*, you seem to stand before me, with all your own well-known ways, ordering everything with care and gentle firmness, and surrounded by dear little children. The better to realize your present career, I have collected all the letters which you

have so kindly sent me during the year, memorials of your goodness and faithful remembrance of me, that I may read them all through one after the other. I know beforehand that this task will set my heart beating quicker at the guilty thought of my long silence.

But, dear Anna, as you will some day experience in your own life, in all likelihood, the life of a man who is devoted to some lofty sphere of work, to the service of some noble ideal, presents so many peculiarities, that it is hardly comparable to an everyday existence : these peculiarities are grounded in life, it is true, but it is in the *higher* life. One of them, which as a Kindergarten teacher you must yourself have already discovered, is the fact that when we are absorbed by a thought, especially an idea whose manifestation and elaboration wholly engages us, we become lost to our surroundings, and we appear careless and unresponsive. We wander amongst our fellow-men like a very stranger, exchanging speech with them, it is true, but not really mingling in their life. In such a state I have been living for years. You see the consequence in this pile of unanswered letters that you have sent me. Now the spell begins to break ; and you are receiving as a reward for your patient waiting, the first-fruits of my freedom.

For many years my mind and soul have been engrossed with the unspeakable importance of the Kindergarten and its development ; all my thoughts and feelings have been concentrated upon a proper manifestation and systematisation of the Kindergarten idea, and upon the possibility of its general establishment, which would result as a consequence. See the marksman taking aim, how he bends his whole power of action upon attaining his mark, and how he disregards everything beside that one object. Just so my thoughts and actions have been bent upon the perfecting of the Kindergarten system, with this further addition that the task was so unexpectedly heavy, that my whole being was abandoned to the effort.

Now at length the idea of the Kindergarten has touched bottom, not only striking deep root in heart and soul, but convincing men's minds and wills that it is a many-sided complex unity, complete within itself, operating upon the inward and the

outward nature alike, and more and more controlling and directing the relations of life. This bright and fascinating hope comes to me from national school teachers in town and country ; those of Meiningen, of the Hildburghausen district, and of the Thuringian Forest, for example, are ready, with all the firmness of conviction, to propagate and develop this idea in fitting time and place.

* * * * *

(*Cetera desunt.*)

(8.)

An Appeal to German Women.

Keilhau, *Friday, 26th June, 1848. 4 a.m.*

HONOURED NOBLE GERMAN WOMEN,—

In the clear moonlight the approaching dawn is gradually beginning to unveil, and I sit, upon my return from my travels in the cause of education, alone in my silent chamber, thinking over the results which are the blossoms and fruit of the last few weeks, days and hours. The clear-shining morning star softly pierces through the twilight, brilliant herald of the coming sun, so soon to give form anew to the world which its beams embrace, and to show us the glad, peaceful, joyful face of Nature, fulfilling her highest function as the revelation of God. Like that morning star a thought rises in my soul, still bathed in the gentle twilight of meditation :—"Amidst the growing self-consciousness and mutual consciousness of the souls of the women of our day, amidst the conception to which they are now attaining of their lofty womanly worth and destined work, and amidst the fulfilment of those blossoming feminine wishes and hopes which in the regions of a higher enthusiasm have developed into living activities, there rises the brilliant morning star of a new era, prophesying to us the speedy advent of a glorious sun—the sun of a joyful union of Germany, of a peaceful united action amongst Germans, of a free German national life."

Yes, so it is, ye noble German women ! Like the morning star, which is at first scarcely distinguishable and almost unmarked, but rising higher and brighter amidst the twilight, presently becomes the harbinger of the day which will make all things manifest in the new-born sunlight, so also the enthusiasm for a general united action on the part of all German women and maidens in the cause of the true care of children and their true training and education—an enthusiasm based upon the deepest feelings of your pure and womanly souls, which are, as it were, a sanctuary amidst all the errors and tangles of life—rises as a star, heralding not only the dawn of a new race, but the uprising of a new nation, a new German people, born again unto a higher destiny—yea, of a new Humanity, one, at last, worthy of itself.

Words are all too weak to express the imaginings of the noble nature, the great worth of the possible future of our German national and family life, which fill my soul when I think upon such a union of wives and maidens. Yet it has to be attempted, after some fashion, for your sake, O noble German women, in whose soul and spirit all that is truly human in our German national and family life lies reflected, whether from intuition or from actual experience. Moreover, all effort, and especially that of the tender, thoughtful, modest, and retiring soul and life of woman, needs some outward recognition to make it clear, since of itself it is manifested inwardly alone. It shyly germinates concealed, and the influence of the sun is necessary, from without, to enable the germ, already formed within, to burst through its envelope and manifest itself externally.

Let me lay before you, my esteemed countrywomen, what I read in the open book of man's destiny, and especially in the pages referring to our German nation. I am driven by an irresistible force to tell you what I read therein, and I can see no appeal from its teaching, for it is the voice of my own soul, and though it comes but from one man, it is at the same time the voice of all humanity :—

“In such an enthusiastic and inspiring adoption of the essentially feminine vocation of the progressive education and development of children as that which springs from out the

sanctuary of your pure souls lies the one indispensable condition necessary, that humanity, and the German nation in especial, may be born again into a higher state of existence, and attain a higher grade of development."

And I am no less irresistibly carried on to make an earnest prayer to you, valued wives and maidens—indeed, it is the main purpose of this letter to do so—that you will cherish and nourish this sacred enthusiasm that I have spoken of; and first of all within yourselves. Review it perpetually by searching your own and others' lives, in the history of their development, so far as it lies open before you; read, to help yourselves, in the books of the present and the past, and explore the writings of those who seek to lift the veil of the future; dive deep into the histories of the inward and outward career of man, in the race, the nation, the individual; compare what you have read with the silent creations of organic Nature, their conditions and the history of their development; in a word, use every opportunity that comes before you to elevate and stimulate your enthusiasm. Such an opportunity may be found everywhere, if only the glance which searches for it be keenly intelligent; and the search will enable you to appreciate and truly live for your high rank and destiny "to cherish and develop the Divine in the Man, through the Child." For what is there higher than thus to recognise *oneself* as the Child of God, as true to God our Father, and as gratefully serving Him?

But cherish this enthusiasm also for the sake of the loftier purpose of life which will thereby unite you amongst yourselves. Let its weakening, let its cooling, seem to you as a denial of your own powers, and as a refusal of those demands which humanity has a right to make upon you, because of your life's vocation. Few mortals stand in so fortunate a position as you, who are able to work for so many noble aims, and always to press onward and upward.

Seek therefore for the impressionable amongst your sex, and surely you will find that many such are members of your circle of acquaintance of wives and maidens; win them over to the adoption of the care of little children as a career, penetrate them

with your own enthusiasm ! Let no opportunity slip for this propaganda, and utilise the many varied relationships of your life to promote it. Oh, I pray you, do not evade this highly important duty, so often lightly passed by in the whirl of our common life : acknowledge it as an imperative command laid upon you, that every one of you in her own station shall work towards the well-being of humanity with all the powers and means at her command, and especially through careful observation and study of the budding childhood of the race. Moreover, the work is not difficult ; indeed, the conviction of others is rather to be attained by the force of your own conviction, the way laid down for others and their path made straight by the power of the truth within yourselves ; the warm glow of enthusiasm called up in them by the reflection of the fire which burns so brightly in you. Success is certain beforehand, even if at first it extends to only a very few ; for as the work endures a few others will come, and so others, again, and yet others ; and all of them will be mutually encouraged more and more, and cheered in their work as time goes on. Effort will call forth responsive effort, and firm resolves in some will induce resolves as firm in others.

Further, *the second equally indispensable condition* of a final and comprehensive state of well-being for humanity, and especially for our own people, the educational co-operation of the other half of mankind—I mean of the male sex—will rise to meet your own perfect fulfilment of your duty ; and the men will stand beside the women and give them powerful support and protection. At first, perhaps only those men and youths will come forward who are convinced of the high importance of education, and especially of a natural system of education for children, and who are already as thoroughly penetrated with these ideas as yourselves. It is not needful, I am glad to say, that I should take all the responsibility of this statement, pledging merely my own consciousness of my duty and my destined career, as a man and as a member of mankind, in proof of it ; you may call witnesses from your own family circle—your sons, your brothers, uncles, husbands—who will justify what I have asserted by their convictions and

their actions ; so that even if our beginnings may be small, we shall grow as the work grows firm and endures, and shall see once again, for sure, a perfect German race, not in fine isolated specimens here and there, but everywhere, and everywhere united, as a possession and characteristic of the German national life ; in fact, what is now scattered and solitary shall then be universal. As the tenderness of Jesus to some few children is now shared by all children alike, and has thus become the possession of all mankind, so what was once the outcome of a single man's sensations or thoughts shall now become the possession of the intellect of all mankind ; that intellect which represents man's highest united and clearly self-conscious existence.

Noble women, support, I pray you, with all the force of your soul and your will, the earnest struggles of our men and youths devoted to the education of man and of the human race, and glowing with enthusiasm for the improvement of our German national culture ; for if we men work separately, unaided by you and your sex in some permanent and effective manner, we cannot, with all our efforts, accomplish anything comprehensive and satisfactory, either for separate families, still less for the nation, least of all for mankind at large, though the need is everywhere pressing.

It is only by united action, and only through the children, through the care and training of childhood, that *the two sexes* can reach their lofty aim, the aim of mankind, of our nation, and of every family—to completely fulfil our common vocation and realize our destiny. For just as in family life the child, whose nurture so sharply divides the sexes as represented by his parents, yet after all unites them the more firmly, since they continue in self-sacrifice to fulfil their noble vocation as members of humanity, so also in virtue of the lofty decrees of providence, the collective body of children, ever renewing itself, acts upon the greater family of mankind at large. The care of childhood is seen to be the one unfailing, perfectly satisfactory condition and means of uniting the two separate sexes to form the one great body of mankind, and fully to work out their destiny. This chord of three notes melts together in a higher sense to form an

unison, which sounds abroad in a full and clear tone. This larger unity is but the unity of the family over again, where the love of the two parents finds in the child its meaning and its union, attains its purpose and meets its God and Father, reaches its highest development of means and aim, of condition and destiny. Childhood and Manhood melt together to form the unity of Mankind, and this last, as the everlasting child of God, melts in its turn into unity with its Divine Father.

As the greatest friend and loftiest teacher of mankind has said :—The kingdom of peace and purity, unity and truth, belongs to the children ("For of such is the kingdom of God," Mark x. 14) ; and, again : Only by returning to the spirit of childhood can we regain this kingdom ("Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein," Mark x. 15). So also upon the earth, it is the return to childhood which ensures us those blessings of heaven, peace and purity, unity and truth, and all that of necessity blossoms and fruits from these ; and it is the sanctifying and loving care of childhood which alone can bring us earthly salvation and joy.

And now also, noble women, I must pray you to support me, too, in my efforts to found a progressively developing education for children, amidst which they shall unconsciously mature, like plants under the gardener's eye, as I have so often told you ; support me, too, who am driven on by an irresistible force to become the spokesman in this cause, the protagonist in this battle. For indeed, without the powerful support of your sex I am as nothing ; just as I should be nothing, either, without the support and active maintenance of my own sex. I am, as it were, the third party in this holy bond ; in this complete and sacred threefold chord I am the representative of the innocent voiceless children, and like the helpless children I am nothing without the support of at least the majority of those of both sexes, who share with me the belief in what the greatest friend of children prophesied, and what is now at last about to come to pass in a more general acceptance—that the loving care of childhood and of manhood is in the ultimate resort one and the same thing, an

everlasting, self-complete unity; and that the attainment of this unity is the divinely appointed duty of the two sexes; a duty which, moreover, unites into one humanity these sexes so widely divergent in their nature and their position with regard to each other.

While I look forward with confidence to the support of yourselves and your sex, I am also assured of the support of my own; and you too, as I have said above, may satisfy yourselves in your own families of the existence of this male sympathy with our aims. For in your families, so dear to you, so tenderly cherished, you may see already in actual living operation the consummation towards which humanity at large is now striving; and this sort of proof is the highest triumph of the truth of anything that is acknowledged to be true, and that has been properly described—*the inward union of those elements which are outwardly separated*, perceptible unity in visible diversity, the lofty unison of all existence sounding amidst the many various notes of different phenomena, the law of life shining as the basis of the freedom of the will. The salvation of the world is born anew—our German family life is its latest birthplace; and in that typical family life it shall continually renew itself in every child and through every child, needing nothing more than our protecting care.

Up, then! and let us, of both sexes, see to it that this protecting care is provided on the part of that combined humanity which we unite together to form. And thus shall we drink together at the fountain head of all truth. Further, it is truth alone, and our conduct (which should have its roots in truth), which can free us, and which can endow us with all things needed for our good; all those things that the Saviour, centuries long since, sought to obtain for us by His life, and by His love. Every one of us of either sex should now and henceforth strive like Him—I mean, should strive with love like His, but in a correspondingly lower degree—towards the good of all men, working through his or her life, and setting forth our purpose in that life; each one according to his or her powers and surrounding circumstances.

In conclusion, may the one source and fountain of all that lives stream through our souls and unite into one flood the separate

runlets of our life ! May Love, Goodness, Truth, Fidelity, the elements of that great stream, be apparent in our every action ! May these four qualities, even upon earth, unite you women inseparably with us men, and unite both of us inseparably with humanity, and especially with our German nation, and with every individual member of that great people, for the salvation of each one and of all together, by vigorous endeavour, blossoming fairly, and coming in time to noble fruit ! Then the peace which has hitherto belonged to the other world may descend also upon this, and the soul which is joyful in this world may carry over its joy into that other ; so shall the earth be as a part of heaven, and mankind actually become in consciousness and in deed what it already is according to its nature—namely, the free-born daughter of God !

With which considerations, noble German women, I bid you and those who are dear to you a mutual farewell in all unity of spirit.

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(9.)

Letter to Mlle. Gumpert.

Keilhau, 23rd July, 1848.

RESPECTED MADAM,—

Will you pardon the freedom I take in writing to you ? The thoughts which busied us together so engrossingly during the last hours of my recent stay in Dresden have sunk so deep into my mind, and have called up further developments of thought which are so important, and which seem so completely to embrace the inmost nature of life, that I really feel compelled to share them with you, and therefore venture upon continuing our conversation in this epistolary manner.

It seems to me that we must admit this to be the first great fact of to-day :—that life, with all its attendant circumstances, is drifting daily faster and faster towards ruin and dissolution.

The second great fact, closely connected with the first, relates to

physical nature and the great generalisations of life, and is to this effect :—that both in nature and in life, wherever we find decay and dissolution, we find also the germs of a new development ; so that swiftly, to him who has eyes to see, the new form takes substance and rises into view upon the ruins of the old. Every one who desires to understand his own time and its phenomena, to seize its meaning, to carefully observe it, and to use it for the best, whether for the present moment, or for the more permanent needs of life—and what man of prudent habit has not such a desire as this?—must before all things else keep his mind open and eye clear to recognise and acknowledge these new forms and developments as they arise from the old.

This brings us to the third great fact, which is one of the highest possible moment for the fulfilment of our vocation in life, and necessary, not only for each one, but also for every society :—that it is never blind chance that directs us, but that, on the contrary, we are controlled in all things, thanks to a loving, guiding providence, by one great everlasting law, whose nature is unfolded by numberless subsidiary laws, always active and always connected amongst themselves ; and these subsidiary laws, though they are but parts of a greater unity, nevertheless rule us even in the smallest occurrences of life.

Now let us apply these three main facts of life, dear madam, to our own work, which has itself, as I believe, been called forth even through that mighty law of life whereof I have just spoken. We find, first of all, that our educational system has for its deepest foundation the germ of a new life which is budding forth, according to the eternal law, amidst the decay and dissolution of all life-relationships that mark the world of to-day—a new life, leading us onward to a higher, a purer, a more peaceful, and a more joyful existence. The development, the cherishing of this new life-germ depends solely upon the living human race, and we are of the number : that is to say, this unfolding of the new life-germ into full growth and perfect development depends in an especial sense upon those amongst men who are rich in experience of the inward and outward life, who are clearly conscious of their lofty vocation as human beings and willing and able to fulfil it—each

one practically efficient and active in his particular station and in his own individual way. In all modesty we must reckon ourselves amongst the chosen few.

But to say that anything needs tender cherishing care for its development, is but in other words to postulate the womanly life and sensitiveness, the womanly soul and manner of working—as your own charming poems have so truly expressed it. Therefore we must turn towards the world of women, towards the noble woman's soul, conscious of its own nature and of its high vocation; and we must make our petition that women will trustfully accept the charge which we would fain lay upon them of the cherishing and shaping this tender germ of the new life which is struggling with all its powers to burst forth from its bud.

This, then, was the result we arrived at during the short time we held conference together, and the conviction was firmly shared by both of us alike;—that the germ of the new existence whose arrival we awaited, lay in the world of Childhood; was, in fact, the source of its ever-fresh renewal, and was thrusting out its roots and stem from within. The practical result of our exchange of ideas was consequently a resolve to enlist the valuable services of mothers and maidens in the cause of children's education, and also, and especially, to influence ladies of high birth and position—of the very highest, indeed, if we could reach them—and to convince them of the true value for mankind and of the stringent need of the system we are advocating; for such ladies would have the means as well as the will to help us; the material as well as the shaping idea; the power to execute as well as the earnest zeal to endeavour. And let us also be ever mindful of the lesson of our time, enforced by so many and such terrible examples—that in the case of all persons of such high position, wealth and poverty, possession and deprivation frequently lie in the mere glance of an eye, in the lightest whisper of a mouth, in a single word; that it is often the fate of an instant to decide that he who is to-day extolled as the benefactor of his nation, or of all mankind, shall to-morrow be hooted down as the betrayer of both. Each one of those highborn ladies, spotlessly pure as a lily, shining clear as an angel, must yet see narrowly to it, lest the fatal

words, "Too late!" plunge all that high and holy purity into darkness and misery.

If only our queens, our princesses, all our highest and mightiest ones, would but think of this! If they could but realize what power a lovingly guiding Providence, an everlasting paternal goodness has placed in their hand and laid in their heart, for the firm foundation of the happiness of their subjects, in the family and in the nation alike! If they would but see how he invites them to scatter abroad the seeds of individual and national prosperity! If they would but recognise that the duty is laid upon them to vigorously support this movement for the culture of very young children in families and in Kindergartens, with all the rich consequences dependent upon that! Then we should save for our people, for humanity, for our contemporaries, and for posterity, through them, through the deep and true feeling of their woman's heart, that superfluity of this world's best things which they still now possess, even after the large amount which the male sex has taken from them.

May it come to pass in the great family of the nation, the married life, so to speak, of the human race, as it often comes to pass in real families and in ordinary married life, and to the blessing of all—that where the men have trampled down all that is noble, the love of woman is able to revive it and upraise it again!

That I might express these thoughts to you, dear madam, is the purpose of this letter, in addition to my natural wish to thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me, which I do, as you see, in my own peculiar way. Confidence is the true thanks for confidence. I might have put that as a heading to this letter if it were not that with me ideas involuntarily follow the same order of development on paper as that in which they originally arose in my mind; a circumstance which indeed has its good side in regard to their inner connection, though it sometimes may be rather wearisome for the reader. I can only hope that the published circular letter, which I venture to enclose in the present one, may not prove an example of what I have just said. I have enclosed that letter also in the same spirit of mutual confidence which has induced me to write this one to you.

The printed letter enclosed deals with the actual situation, and has, in fact, like the present letter, arisen directly therefrom : it differs simply by being addressed, not to one friend, but to a large number of noble women, all inspired by the thought of working towards a satisfactory and complete education of children, and thereby towards family and national well-being through the united action of mothers and maidens. I have thought it my duty to send you a copy of this circular letter, dear madam ; for by your child-loving mind you already stand upon the same plane of activity (activity in an imperishable work) with that sweet circle of women whom a common motive has bound together so fast that they are become almost as one person. And since the order of ideas in that circular letter is not the same as in this, it is my hope that the two letters may be mutually explanatory, may complete one another, so to speak : especially with regard to the most important conception of a single mighty Law of Life, individualising and all-embracing at the same time, and enduring for ever and ever. This Law rules the great unities of Mankind and of Life—it is our duty to strive to understand its all-penetrating force ; and as soon as we have arrived at its understanding, then voluntarily and in all freedom of will we ought to bring it to practical application in our life, and to live according to its behest. This mighty all-penetrating law expresses itself everywhere, and in a manner especially marked with regard to the sexes in their mutual relations ; wherefore we recognise it in remarkable clearness and simplicity in the family, in the relationship between father, mother and child. Whence it becomes our particular duty to hold high the idea of the family as a holy thing ; for in it lies and germinates the weal of all nations, the salvation of mankind.

This conception, this conviction, form the basis of my Kindergarten system. Lovers of that system have called upon me to bring it to a public test by demonstrating its nature upon a scale suitable to its complete exhibition, and request me to invite the public to witness this demonstration.

I send you some copies of my invitation to this meeting, which I published originally in the *Educational Journal for*

*Saxony.*¹ As soon as further details of time and place are decided upon I will let you know them.

As I close this letter I receive a number of programmes of the "Second General Teachers' Conference for Saxony." I see that the Kindergarten is admitted to its true place in this programme, as an organic member of the national German educational system and this fact is of such exceeding importance that I send you one of the copies herewith.

I should rejoice greatly, dear madam, if you should feel induced to favour me soon with some account of the results of your labours in extending this system of Kindergarten education for very young children, which we offer as suitable to the spirit of the age; and which embraces their education in private families also, through and by means of the Kindergarten.

With very great esteem,

I am, yours truly,

FR. FROEBEL.

(10.)

Letter to Luise Hertlein, of Vienna,

Kindergarten Teacher with Madame Doris Lütken, in Hamburg.

Marienthal, 29th March, 1852.

There was no need to apologise for your long silence. You know my own negligence as a correspondent, and indeed I have long been a letter in your debt. And, moreover, you say quite truly that in these matters we must trust to that bond of spiritual union which connects our lives, and which should make us strong enough in soul and spirit to overcome anything that thus threatens to weaken our friendship. Indeed, it could not fail to

¹ *Schulzeitung*

quicken and raise our lives if we were more constantly brought to feel the reality and necessity of this spiritual bond between us. It is by such incessant mutual attraction that the stars preserve the harmony of the heavens. In my view it is by such a sentiment that mankind will be enabled to arrive eventually at that highest plane of development where it will become possible for us to recognise the intimate and perpetual interconnection of all the living phenomena of mind, resting on the essential unity of all the forms of life. What a vast series of ascending planes of development stretches out thus before us on this earth alone ! And yet, in the ultimate resort, all that vast series already potentially exists in germ in the Kindergarten and its developments.

Yet, in spite of the above, which I have put forward to quiet your conscience as to your long silence, I am glad that this latter is at last broken, and especially glad because of the immediate reason for it.

I have already known for some time that Madame B. desired to have one of my students as a nursery governess, and I did actually send one to her for trial, all the way to Coblenz. Why it was that the engagement was not entered into I do not know ; but it is certainly remarkable that an engagement so actively sought for by the student who then went to Coblenz should have fallen through, and yet the very same thing should now come of its own accord to you, who knew nothing about it and had taken no trouble to secure it. This is an example of the curious chances of life ; and shows us that our best course is always patiently to await the development of things. How many times has not fortune favoured you already in your life ; and, while you were steadily fulfilling the duties that lay immediately before you, expanded and enlarged those duties into a wider and more congenial sphere of culture.

In another sense, too, your new engagement, generally so satisfactory, seems to me especially important ; and the more I think of it the greater its importance grows upon me. You will remember the great value I used to attach, when I was teaching you the unities of life, to the great principles of observation, recognition, and conjunction, or in one phrase—"The reconcili-

ation of opposites by a mediating link." I think I can offer you a striking proof of the justice of my views in this regard, drawn from your own life, and doubly manifested there. In all your future career, pray listen to and observe the deep laws of nature and life which underlie the Kindergarten system of education.

You know, as the song "North and South" tells us, what sharply contrasted opposites we find in North and South Germany, both in the aspect of the country and in the races which inhabit it. Here, then, is a remark which I might easily develop, and apply to the guidance of your future life. You, dear Luise, are a Viennese, a South German; and the mediating link of my own life has served to connect you with your opposite, Madame Doris Lützens, a North German, by the most perfect and stable relationship. Then, again, how do you become connected with Madame R. B.? Where is the point of origin of this new formula? Is there any opposition between North Germany and Hamburg? Perhaps not much: but Madame B. learnt Kindergarten principles in Baden, pondered over them a whole month by herself. At last in stony Berlin the spark kindled into flame, and she turned towards the North, towards yourself at Hamburg, to satisfy the wishes, the maternal necessities, which had been borne in upon her, as I have said, in the South (in Baden).¹

Further, you know that for generations men have been longing for a bond of union between South and North. Now you see wherein such a bond is conditioned, and whereby it becomes possible. Acknowledge, then, in these occurrences (which I cannot now properly comment upon) the truth of the Kindergarten principle—the principle of the progressively developing culture of mankind towards unity and high purpose in life—and see how it stands in all the strength of a true, a high, a Fatherly protection. And think, moreover, how we are pledged to faithfully enforce this principle, especially in the family. Finally, convince yourself of the great importance of your future position

¹ The English Editors feel bound to remark that in these examples Froebel would seem to have pushed his favourite principle beyond what it can fairly be made to bear. It must be remembered that he was now within a few days of seventy years old, was in ill health, and more than usually fanciful.

with all its duties, which now lie certainly before you, though as yet they are still indistinctly determined. Wherefore keep that consciousness of their importance continually before you, and let it rule all your actions.

Observe, dear Luise, that we must bend our attention firstly towards the kernel, the main centre of our national life, the family ; and in the family, firstly, to the mothers and daughters, that they may hunger and thirst for instruction, as I have often found the case in my association with the simplest peasant families ; secondly, that the rulers of our land, our governments and their leaders, may become learned, willing, and helpful, in educational matters, and may find the due scope for their energies in the Kindergarten system ; and thirdly—as the mediating link connecting these two opposites—we are to come forward and satisfy at once the hunger and thirst of the people, and the statesman-like desires and efforts of their rulers.

By which you see that I not merely recognise the gravity of these new relationships, as well as Mlle. D. does, but I seek to extend and widen your considerations concerning them. At the same time this will serve you as an example of my usual practice of examination into the phenomena and the events of life, that I may range them in an orderly way and come to a clear view of them and of their intimate vital interconnection one with the other. I attach the greatest importance to this study of phenomena, and regard that life as the highest and best which is lived in accordance with the results and conclusions of such a study.

As I remarked above, our life, regarded as a clear self-consciousness, a living intuition, and a firm will, must remain ever in harmony with the will of the life universal (that is, must not be disturbed by our perpetual efforts)—just as harmonious, in fact, as are the great unconscious entities of physical nature and the general scheme of the world. This, indeed, was the highest and ultimate aim of Jesus, who says, “I and my Father are one” (John x. 30), and “I listen to the voice of my Father” (John viii. 28, 47). All my efforts in the cause of education are in harmony with these words of Jesus, and rest, as Jesus commands,

upon the basis of the unity of life—as indeed I have already above expressed it.

Thank God that you have not been led to imitate the presumption of certain highly cultured circles who deny their Master, whereby you would have falsified your whole principles and denied the eternal law which lies beneath them, founding all your future work upon lies and deceit, to say the best of it : for your escape from this snare you cannot thank God too warmly. I must here confide to you a conclusion of the deepest significance, which I draw from observations extending over my whole life. Ever since I have taken the standing of a national educationist, and have spoken out freely upon the principles which should govern the education of the people (and the education of mankind, in fact), I have observed that all those who, after having once enthusiastically acknowledged the truth of the principle of progressive development, have later on deserted it and turned their back upon it, perhaps have even denied it altogether, have thenceforth suffered their life long from confusion and disaster. I could almost say that this conclusion might be drawn from my own life. And hence this educational idea becomes a sacred thing to me, not because it is mine, but because it is deeply implanted, with all its many various roots, in the nature of the human mind. I know that I can convince but very few of my fellow men of the intense verity of this, to the extent that I myself am convinced ; but this need not hinder me, any the more, from being faithful to my light.

Rejoice in your motto, “Everywhere with pride and joy truth to acknowledge,” and I, too, rejoice in your hope that by your removal to Coblenz and the B. family you will bring “some good to our cause, which thereby becomes more widely known.” I am sure you will ; and you have my cordial good wishes for a blessing on your efforts.

A most excellent student will be your successor at Madame Lütkens’, and if I were sure you would not misunderstand me I should say she is the precise opposite of yourself, being a sweet gentle soul.

Observe how in the life of Madame Lütkens we find the con-

trast to what I was saying a little above. Although it cannot be denied that she takes up a position almost the contrary of mine in her opinions on society, on life, and I might perhaps even add on education, yet from the first moment that she really thoughtfully considered and acknowledged the truth of my educational aims she has remained their true supporter: and she has been so fortunate as to receive, one after the other, three Kindergarten teachers from out my students, who have all of them proved most able assistants to her. Here you see the truth, from another side, of the proverb:—"Whoso faithfully cherishes the idea shall be faithfully rewarded by the idea," and in the second place you see also that life in general, and true vital powerful educational work in particular, exist by the reconciliation and union of opposites; for you are as opposite to Alwine¹ as two persons of similar education and work can be, and your successor is equally unlike you.

Hence you may assure yourself, dear Luise, that life is ever made up by developments of the union of opposites, according to the everlasting law God has imposed upon it, and that it lies upon your spirit to search out and acknowledge examples of this law, through which you may become able to walk warily in your life by the light of consciousness and insight, intelligently following out the will of God and submitting yourself thereunto.

And this happens to be especially the point that my opponents never seem to see, or at all events never admit. But so long as we do not acknowledge these palpable facts of nature, which are objective to us, that is, which are independent and outside of ourselves, as representing a law of society and life, and refuse to recognise this law in our spirit as being truly a law of God (but still leaving to ourselves the freedom of the will)—until, I say, these facts are felt, by at least a few chosen souls amongst men, to constitute a fundamental law of life, Life will never lose its perpetual waverings, its misunderstandings, and its want of faith. This is my deepest, firmest, and ever present conviction.

¹ Alwine Middendorff (afterwards Madame Wichard Lange), her predecessor with Madame Lütken—see Letter XIX. to Madame Schmidt, Part I. of the present book.

And while even so firm and decided a statement of my conviction may nevertheless fail to convince another man that this law is really true, it will still have this effect, that you, and all others to whom the intelligence of this great law may come, will be attentive to the phenomena of life and to the laws of God, which are expressed through them, so that you may come to acknowledge the will of God as an objective perception. To become what we ought to become, we must clearly acknowledge that we and our mental phenomena are a mingled mass of opposites—and this not to our hurt, but to our good—as for example, soul and intellect, heart and head, intuition, feeling and reason, etc. To such opposite-similars it is our task in life, and by means of life, to find the mediating link, the point of union.

The Incarnation and the Life of Jesus are conditioned by this same law, as is also his harmony of action with the One God : and so, too, turning to another sphere, my own action, and my own aim in life are harmonised with those of Jesus ; for from them come unity of life, unity with God, and the real power and vigour of life. “By their fruits ye shall know them” (Matt. vii. 20).

Osberve all this and prove it from the thousand experiences of life, and from time to time, as opportunity serves, let me know how it goes with your inner as well as your outer life ; thus, for one of us at least, may life be made clear, which is but another way of saying that its conduct may be made more true.

I know that many others with whom I am personally not acquainted have like aims with myself ; and we may perhaps hope that we may thus accomplish together something for the peace of life which we all so long for, and for the joy of life which we all so need.

You are right to make the *Journal* your study ; for there is much more in it than the mere words express, many undeveloped germs, much seed-corn. Believe me, I should study the *Journal* myself, if I could but spare the time, and that with profit : I mean that I should study it with a view to the development of those said germs and seed-corn. In the fourth number of the *Journal* is an article upon “Stick laying,” which contains a deep-lying con-

ception of society and of life, the recognition of which is of great importance for the conscious and sure guidance of life, and of children's education, and men's too. Whether many will recognise it, is quite another question; yet, if only a few perceive the truth of it, that is sufficient, for they will work upon others.

Now, as a conclusion of the whole matter, you see by what I have written that I not only approve of your resolve to accept the Coblenz invitation, but that you have acted in the affair in every way precisely as I could have wished. God's blessing on your work! This letter must serve for quite half a year, I entreat. Do not forget to come to the public demonstration of the "gifts" which I intend to give at the Liebenstein Kindergarten next summer.

All desire to be kindly remembered to you, especially your namesake, and myself.

Your Friend,

FR. FR.

(*Friede, Freude, Freiheit.*)¹


¹ *Von mir, Ihren Frd., Fr. Fr.* [not *Ihnen Frd., Fr. Fr.*, as in the German text. That is, "peace, joy and freedom:" a play upon his usual abbreviated signature, "Fr. Fr." (Friedrich Froebel), with *Frd.* added, for *Freund* (friend). See also the same signature to the letter to Lisette Kirchner, in Section IV. The namesake is, of course, Madame Luise Froebel.

PART IV.

ATTACK AND DEFENCE.

ATTACK AND DEFENCE.

INTRODUCTION.¹

HE more foes, the more honour." This proverb serves well for Froebel. And his foes were not only many, but mighty ; nay, of the mightiest in the land, and such as few persons have had to encounter. Amongst them was the Prussian Minister of Education, Von Raumer, who on 7th August, 1851, simply abolished the Kindergarten in Prussia, on the ground that it was "a part of the Froebelian Socialistic system, calculated to bring up our young people in atheism !"

Froebel, on principle, did not usually answer his foes ; he sought rather to overcome their hostility by making his practical work as perfect as possible, and trusting to the evidence of actual facts to prove the justice of his ideas. But he abandoned his usual course in this case of the Prussian Minister, and sent him (quite in vain, it is true) a paper of defence and justification, the draft of which, in Froebel's own handwriting, is in my possession, and shall one day be published.

The following letters of Froebel were all written during the last three years of his life, and dated from Liebenstein and Marienthal. They are concerned throughout, in an indirect way, with his opponents of the orthodox religion, and they contain the evidence that he never lost the Christian faith, nor separated himself from the Protestant Church, in which he had been brought up, but held the position of a broad-minded tolerant Churchman as regards the less orthodox communities.²

¹ By the German Editor, Herr Poesche.

² The Protestant (*Evangelischen*) Churches of North Germany are now two in number, and every citizen, whatever the private belief of his parents or himself, must be baptized and confirmed in one or the other, unless he is a Roman Catholic. These two branches are the Old Lutherans and the New

In the first letter, which is addressed to Madame Doris Lütkens, at Hamburg, it is more particularly the pedantic educationist Fölsing who claims our attention; in the two letters to the Kindergarten teachers of Nuremberg, the decree for the abolition of the Kindergarten in Bavaria is dwelt upon, and in the last letter Froebel tells us about his educational efforts on behalf of the "Home Missionary Society."¹ A few remarks are necessary upon these various points.

1. The opposition between the strictly orthodox conception of society, and that of persons holding freer religious views, still manifests itself daily, and almost seems to grow more and more intense in regard to the instruction of very young children. For example, even down to our own day an invariable charge is made against the Kindergarten by persons of rigidly orthodox views, that it has no definite profession of faith; and "Oberlin Schools" are founded, under the protection of the ægis of the great strategist Von Moltke, and others, with the direct view and in the full purpose of working against the "godless" Kindergarten.² And on this account, too, the old-fashioned *crèches* are taken into favour; for in these, as a rule, only children of one denomination are gathered together.

2. Froebel saw in the earliest education of children a neutral ground, a place of peace, and in giving his Kindergarten its form and method, he entered into friendly relations with Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Free Christians (*e.g.* as to the latter, Wislicenus, Baltzer, Hildenhagen and Uhlig). He made use of all forms of "practical Christianity." What belief Froebel himself

or Reformed Lutherans, corresponding roughly to our High Church and Broad Church. Froebel belonged to the latter, but his father would certainly have belonged to the former, if the division of the Church had taken place during his life, instead of about 1845.

¹ As to this great work of the philanthropist, J. X. Wichern, see the notes to the last letter in this book.

² The German Editor might have added a choicer example of narrowness drawn from Berlin usage, where, to counteract any ill effect from the Kindergartens under the influence of Madame Schrader (Froebel's great-niece), the orthodox have thought fit to establish several so-called "*Christian Kindergartens*" of their own. General von Moltke is a patron of these "*Christian Kindergartens*," also, as well as of the Oberlin Schools.

held can be at once perceived quite clearly from the following letters. But if a more explicit testimony of Froebel's perfectly Christian views be needed, I will add here a few words from his nephew, Karl Froebel, some time professor at Edinburgh.¹ Herr Karl Froebel says: "My uncle was truly pious in the Christian sense, through and through. His whole life has left this distinct impression upon me. Certainly it was rather the spirit than the form of Christianity with which he was penetrated in so remarkable a manner. He believed that his work in education would eventually bring about a new form of Christianity, and that Christendom would become conterminous with the whole human race." Not the form, but the spirit of Christianity, we see, enthralled Froebel. If we want more precisely to describe this spirit, we may turn to a little book he himself has recommended²—"Psyche" (the soul), by Dr. R. Carus, 1846; "which," as he says in a letter to Felsberg, of 7th February, 1847, "is most remarkable to me on this account, that the writer and I set out from completely opposite standpoints, and yet he arrives by similarly ordered reasoning at precisely my own results. Up to the present I have met with no work which bears such clear witness as this to the truth of my aims and efforts." What, then, were the results gained by viewing the world from Carus's Theistic standpoint? He shows us nature, as a huge, powerful, immortal life unity, ruled by moral principles and by the mind of God. Every living thing is a leaf or twig of this tree of life; especially man, in whom, as the crown of creation, nature arrives at self-consciousness. The connection of man's life with the natural universal life is shown in triple wise; firstly, as a desire for harmony with the highest life, that is, for *unity with God*; secondly, as a desire for harmony with all the living beings that surround us, that is, for *unity with the world*; and thirdly, as a desire for *unity with self*, called forth by the everlasting conflict between mind and body. If Froebel's religious position is desired to be accurately known, Carus should be closely studied. The Theism

¹ Where he still resides.

² As, for instance, to his cousin, Madame Schmidt, of Gera, to whom he introduces the book at the end of Letter XX., Part I. of the present volume.

of Carus has, of course, nothing to do with Pantheism, which latter simply identifies God and the world. Enough has been said upon this point.

3. The opposition of Fölsing, in Darmstadt, was certainly grounded upon a divergence from Froebel in religious matters; but was aggravated by Fölsing's over-weening conceit. He was an organist and a military schoolmaster (began as an artilleryman, then went to the Teachers' Training College at Friedburg, where Curtman was director, and was there trained as a teacher); and he had founded at Darmstadt an Infant School, which showed good and practical results. In 1844 Froebel, travelling in the Rhine, Main, and Neckar district, came to Darmstadt and entered into nearer relations with Fölsing. On some practical points Fölsing was superior to the creator of the Kindergarten; he led the children's singing well, and was very clever in keeping their attention constantly alive by recitations, stories, verses, fairy tales, etc.; and he had large curved pieces of wood for building with, that enabled the children easily to construct the most interesting forms. At the beginning Froebel was successful in placing his first and best disciple, Mlle. Ida Seele, at the head of an Infant School in Darmstadt; and he desired them to have the name as well as the thing—"Kindergarten." But Fölsing stood for his own title. His ideal was the "Infant School," and his influence was sufficient to prevent the use of the word "Kindergarten."

As the name "Kindergarten" also plays a part in the letters to the Bavarian Kindergarten teachers in Nuremberg, it is worthy of remark that Froebel expresses himself very fully to his disciple in Darmstadt, Ida Seele, about the unpleasantness there, and the difference between the names "Kindergarten" and "Infant School." This is how he writes to Ida Seele on 14th March, 1847, when she had already been appointed mistress of the Infant School at Darmstadt:—

"Also I hope I may attain here (in Darmstadt) my third great object—which is the establishment of a Normal-Kindergarten, one which will serve as a practical model to others as to actual working, and will also bear the name of 'Kindergarten.' For

the name of the thing, or of a person, is by no means to be neglected as without influence. You know how often I have remarked upon this with reference to your own name ;¹ and we have a proverb which says the same thing, with that good common sense which is the characteristic of proverbs, 'Call a child by its right name.'

"You remember well enough how hard we worked, and how we had to fight, not occasionally but constantly, and with all our force, that we might elevate the Darmstadt *crèche*, or rather Infant School, by improved methods and organization, until it became a true Kindergarten. And you remember to what a great extent we soon succeeded in this task, by our united efforts. You know what trouble I took to acquire a piece of garden ground for that Institution, so that the children might have their own little gardens in the central part, surrounded by the general school-garden on all sides ; because I consider all such Institutions incomplete without this important adjunct, of whose far-reaching influence and importance you must have been thoroughly convinced at Blankenburg. You know what pains we both took to meet the school's requirements on the purely teaching side, when Herr A., our teacher, unexpectedly left us ; and what trouble we gave ourselves to make you qualified for every emergency of this kind, so far as we could forecast the future ; and you remember how in all these points we succeeded to the general satisfaction of all concerned, not merely just at first, but in the permanent enduring work.

"Now what was the outcome of all this, even during my own stay at Darmstadt ? Why, the fetters which always cripple a *crèche*, or an Infant School, and which seem to hang upon it from its inception, and to cling round its very name—these fetters were allowed to remain unbroken. Every one felt pleased with so diligent, so faithful a mistress as yourself, and appreciated the fruitfulness of your work ; all esteemed you and recognised your worth properly ; yet at the same time they withheld from you the main condition of an unimpeded development, that

¹ *Seele*, in German, means "Soul."

freedom on all sides which is absolutely necessary to every young healthy and vigorous plant : and instead of this they crippled you with old mechanical and formal restraints, as far as possible. You must remember the half-a-folio-full of 'House-Rules,' or whatever they were called, which made their appearance even while I was still in Darmstadt. They seemed to me like chains thrown round the whole, preventing its free outgrowth ; but I cannot say if you too felt them as such, since I carefully abstained from making any remarks to you upon the subject, for fear of dashing your courage.

"Gratitude for the possession of the living principle involved in our method of child-development—whose value is, moreover, abundantly manifested by its results—ought by this time already to have induced the committee to call the child by its right name. This is what they have done in Homburg, where they have set your people a striking example by adopting the name of 'Kindergarten' at the same time that the old Infant School was remodelled upon the basis of our games and occupations.

"Is there really such importance underlying the mere name of a system?—some one might ask. Yes, there is ; and it is proved by results which are simply surprising, and which are not confined to any one place. See, for example, Gotha, Lünen, etc.—for I will not name Dresden. I will grant you this, as to your influence, that the personal result of your work is very great, indeed greater than at either Gotha or Lünen, and that you have deserved all possible recognition of your labours in your own sphere ; but that sphere was and still is only an Infant School, one of a large class of such schools, and distinguished from them mainly by its superior excellence. It is true that any one carefully watching your teaching would observe a new spirit infused into it, expressing and fulfilling the child's own wants and desires, and would welcome a fresh mode of handling subjects and developing them, suitable to that new spirit ; but that your method of children's instruction was completely adapted to lead up to the entire sphere of the human culture and development of to-day our careful observer would not be able to admit, at all events, upon the single specimen submitted to him in your school. You would

strike him as personally capable, nay, as extremely capable, but you would fail to strike him as a high-minded, true-hearted and heaven-sent servant and priestess of the idea which God has now called to life within man's bosom, and of the struggle towards the realization of that idea—education by development—the destined means of raising the whole human race, and before all else the German nation, to a new plane of culture. For, after all, what do we mean by 'Infant School,' and what do we mean by 'Kindergarten'?

"A School is a place and a method in and by which a man obtains knowledge of something outside himself, and is won to the contemplation and acquisition of facts placed before him. But the child must first himself be something, before he can turn to the contemplation of strange things foreign to his nature. One ought already to have some firm standpoint of his own, before one begins to acquire things altogether novel. So the spirit of the age commands it to be, and above all with children. We must admit that no man can acquire fresh knowledge, even at a school, beyond the measure which his own mental strength and stage of development fits him to receive. But little children have no development at all. Wherefore, in their one-sided and half-hearted way, men set about to create infant schools, which are nothing but a contradiction of child-nature. Little children, especially those under school age, ought not to be *schooled* and taught, they need merely to be *developed*. It is the pressing need of our age, and only the idea of a garden can serve to show us symbolically—but accurately also—the proper treatment of children. This idea lies in the very name of a Kindergarten, which is destined to fulfil the need of true childward care : would it were universally acknowledged and adopted ! And the name is therefore absolutely necessary to describe the first education of children. We misconceive our time if we think otherwise ; we cramp the progress and the spread of that culture of childhood which is dear to God and to Jesus ; we render impossible the harmony, and concord, unity and union, which comprehensive and truly blessed and hallowed educational principles would bring us, if we do not make this name of 'Kindergarten' general, which so

exactly describes the thing we mean. Facts tell for this view, as already said above; for where the name has been adopted, there a cheerful interest has been at once awakened, if no more.

"I am very tired, for it is already past midnight, and possibly I may have been somewhat prolix over all this; but you may gather the grief with which I have seen my fairest hopes deceived, and have found, as a result of your unusual gifts, your faithful services, and your perseverance—all placed at the service of Darmstadt—only an excellent Infant School, instead of the fair blossom of a Kindergarten.

"The results of your work are good—are indeed very good. Who could refuse to acknowledge so much? But how much better and fairer would they have been, had only your committee been able to resolve to call your work by its proper name, and to make evident, by that expression, the real nature of the new spirit you have introduced! Then first, and then only, will your institution and your own work become a living member of the great fundamental unity of education which we so urgently need to see established, when you adopt the name 'Kindergarten'; then only will your institution and your work acquire that deep meaning and value for the life of the town which they so well deserve; then only can I become to you, as you have a right to hope and expect of me, a kind of father, a source of trust, a stay and support, remaining, for want of this, confined to kindly words and feelings, and unable to place at your service those means which I long to make yours.

"Well, then, consider the whole scope of what I have said. Do you not now feel a spiritual breath of life, a unifying, peace and joy-bringing sensation sweep over you, even at the contemplation of this necessary step as a thing quite possible to be attained? How much more, then, would you not rejoice if it were actually accomplished!"

Notwithstanding this, things remained in the same old groove at Darmstadt; and Froebel ceased to worry himself about Fölsing. This man, however, in 1849, levelled a direct attack against Froebel in a pamphlet called "*Froebelian Kindergartens.*" Froebel did not take the trouble to answer. But his talented dis-

ciple, Madame Doris Lützens, of Hamburg, took up the cause on his behalf, and stoutly defended him in a pamphlet called "Froebel's Kindergarten, by Doris Lützens, *née* Von Cossel, of Hamburg." (Perthes-Besser and Mauke, 1849.) "Then appeared," says Dr. Wichard Lange, who carefully followed the whole course of these proceedings in Hamburg, "in a journal edited by the lady, under the title of *Our Children*, a series of letters from Herr Fölsing, all of them penetrated with the spirit of opposition to the Kindergarten system. These letters were answered as they appeared by Madame Doris Lützens herself, and in a most clever way; for while hitting the nail on the head, and leaving her opponent in a very unpleasant plight, she contrived to pay him personal respect and to acknowledge his great services. In this correspondence Herr Fölsing falls so lamentably short of his fair antagonist that at the close one cannot but pity the poor man. The attentive reader is forced to the conclusion that Fölsing's opposition does not really spring from the system itself, but that it is due to his own egregious conceit, which drives him to hail down blows blindly upon a thing which he ought, on the contrary, to have most carefully weighed and considered.

(1.)

Three Letters to Madame Doris Lützens (Principal of a Girls' High School in Hamburg).

LETTER I.

Liebenstein Spa, 31st August, 1849.

ESTEEMED MADAM,—

A number of kind and friendly letters of yours lie before me, expressing your warm and practical sympathy with my educational aims, and your intimate conviction of the truth of them. And yet these letters, which I prize for my own sake as well as for the sake of the cause of childhood, remain unanswered, which seems hardly to be explained. Nevertheless, the cause of this neglect is

very simple. It is that such sympathy as yours makes me forget all else, awakens me to fresh effort, and gives me the clear assurance that I shall succeed in carrying through my work, which can then speak for itself; for I perceive more and more as time goes on, that only a glance unflinching fixed upon the wished-for goal, only steady continuous footsteps along the allotted path, only unceasing fulfilment of the current necessities which such efforts unceasingly produce will suffice to bring me at last, and that but slowly, to the accomplishment of my purpose.

It is true that in a mode of life and work such as mine, one has to lose much that is kind and friendly, such as life freely puts forward in ordinary commerce with Nature, with Society, and even with oneself; and I have to forego very much pleasure in this way that falls to the lot of others who take the world more lightly. Yet at the same time, such as I are privileged to escape much that is unfriendly, and life provides plenty of this latter material, especially for active workers; or if anything of the kind reaches us eventually, it is not till it has worn itself out, and the bitterness of its sting has left it. This has happened to me with Fölsing's pamphlet on "*Froebelian Kindergartens*"—for never since I heard of its existence have I had a free moment to procure it, still less to read it. On the other hand, we of this "take no notice" policy, who utterly neglect such censorious pamphlets, and instead of answering them trust to our life and our work to give them the lie, sometimes miss many kind and friendly side-passages. Thus it is only a few days ago that I heard of your reply made on my behalf to Fölsing, a reply which surprised and delighted me by its calmness, clearness, and simplicity. All who heard it read—for we had it read to us at a little meeting of educationists—acknowledged the pleasure your pamphlet gave them by its main characteristics just named, and beyond, and especially, moreover, by the delicacy and precision with which all personalities were avoided.

Many thanks, dear madam, for what you have done by this pamphlet for the cause we have at heart, even though the thanks come somewhat late.

I should have liked to be able to give you a more sub-

stantial sort of thanks, to thank you in right practical fashion for your long-continued protective care of my idea and its outward manifestations,—namely, by having you here as my guest for some weeks, or some months for that matter, that you might witness the vigorous support vouchsafed to me at the Liebenstein Spa in the cause of children's education ; those who support me being of all classes of society, of both sexes, and of every conceivable stage of culture. I observed no age, no position which formed an exception, right from the humble day-labourer up to some royal highnesses from Weimar, who were staying for the summer in Wilhelmsthal and came over to Liebenstein to examine carefully and seriously our methods of training children, by means of occupations and games.

I am glad to be able to look forward to spending some months next winter at kindly Hamburg, so good and gracious towards the Kindergarten, and I can then fulfil my pleasant duty of thanking you for your continued sympathy. Until then I must retain the expression of my deep feelings within my own breast.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

FR. FROEBEL.

LETTER II.

Marienthal, 1st March, 1851

ESTEEMED MADAM,—

From Hamburg I get news of a kind utterance of yours about me—that a letter from me would be even more welcome to you than the friendly message which the bearer had given you from me. Coming from a noble heart and clear-sighted intelligence like yours, such a challenge has not failed to arouse many various considerations in my mind. Thus, beside the feeling of pleasure at your kindness, I have also the unpleasant feeling of being your debtor ; for I have not yet expressed to you my thanks for the constant and watchful way in which you have fostered and aided my educational endeavours. That I have not manifested my thankfulness in black and white must show you, esteemed madam,

in an unmistakable manner—even with your slight knowledge of my nature, which is easily wrought to thankful feelings—how my life is fettered. You may judge how overburdened I am, when I have hitherto been unable to find time simply to express what I so keenly feel.

But it is so, and ever was. Though I gain a clear view of life, and therefore may indulge in definite expectations as to the future, yet there always rush in upon me a crowd of life-phenomena, of life-experiences, disturbing my soul and oppressing my mind, the more powerfully and the more distressingly because so little expected; and these intruders push further on and further till they win a footing in the very centre of my existence. On the other hand, I am penetrated with thankfulness towards you, none the less, as well as with the sense of my obligation to express those thanks I owe you for your protecting and fostering care of the great educational ideas whose exponent I have become. I am not saying all this in a mere personal and individual way, but recording it as a matter which may aid in the investigation of great departments of life, and the laws thereof, whose discovery and acknowledgment lie so near the heart of both of us.

And as it belongs to my character to cherish thankful thoughts (as indeed is the case with most men), so also does it equally form a necessary part of me to be irresistibly driven to search out the inmost, the ultimate (or rather indeed the *primary*) cause of every external phenomenon or fact of life; and to discover its germ, its point of departure, its root. My whole work is based upon this peculiar need of my nature, that of searching out the *primary* basis of all phenomena. Amongst such investigations there is none that urges itself upon me more closely, definitely and pressing than this acknowledged fostering care of yours towards the Kindergartens of Hamburg. I do not regard this merely as a thought, an idea of your own; far rather does it appear to me as something that has been imported into and become interwoven with your life, so that it is an actual potent fact of life with you, of far-reaching influence. And where, dear lady, are we to look or the origin of this important life fact? What form did it take?

It was a simple casual thought of your own, caught at by me and stayed in mid-career, the thought, namely, that once occurred to you to send me the results of your work in the theory and practice of education. To this communication you, unconsciously following the great law of the union of opposites, which is the basis of the union of all nature and all life, added a request for a personal conference with me. In this seemingly unimportant request (based on the double thought, as I at once remarked with interest, of a wished-for union between us and of the connecting or mediating link necessary to that union), a mere breath of the mind, as it were, lay the foundation of it all; and Hamburg already rejoices, and for centuries to come will rejoice, in growing fervour and fulness at what it has brought forth. Assume that there are now in Hamburg seven or eight institutions for the care of children, managed in an intelligent and progressively educational manner; this gives us at least 300 children in Hamburg, who enjoy this inestimable blessing. Now look along the chain of events which culminates in this point, and by which this rich result has been arrived at. Take away the first link, that is the fancy which impelled you to write to me, and can you imagine the noble great result as nevertheless existing? Indeed you cannot! Think then, and be sure, how thankful I must be, when I perceive and acknowledge this, and how gladly I would express my thanks to you. For though the system itself, wherever it is made known, produces a great impression, it is only continual and progressively fostering care that yields true *results*, as we both know from our separate and our common experience, that is to say, a fostering care of the work under the consciousness of its aim and purpose, its ways and means. We ought also never to forget, and must constantly bring back clearly before us, the fact that we live in a new age, in the age of endeavour and struggle towards knowledge, consciousness, insight—The Age of Perception.

We must all follow along this great plane of the present development of Society, Life and Mankind; in the same way as out of doors, in the free natural life, the smallest violet root and the colossal oak alike have to follow the call of the coming spring, a gentle breeze or a warm slender ray of sunshine. We, as thinking,

free-willing men, have it in our power to resist or follow the call, but good results lie only along the path of the great unmistakable course of life-development; and just as the fate of violet and oak are bound up with the coming natural spring, and its circumstances of place and time, of when and how, so is the fate of man, and of us two along with the rest, bound up with the coming of the great springtime of human life and of the race of man. We are assured of this by the results already obtained through the study of the law that development is due to the reconciliation of opposites through the link of mediation, and we have to decide as thinking, self-conscious and free-willing men whether this law is to operate alone, of itself, independent of ourselves, and to produce new developments in this way, or whether these developments are to be watched for and fostered by us as thinking beings possessing the consciousness of their aim and purpose, and of the conditions which surround them. This much is clear, that whatever we may have already gained by the study of this great law of development is but a small fraction, but a beginning of those great results which we may eventually attain from it by intelligent observation and careful, conscious attention. The main purpose of this letter, dear madam, is to speak to you frankly on this subject, and all that has gone before has been by way of introduction.

I have already remarked that we are living in an age when we are consciously under a law of development acting by the reconciliation of opposites, and that man must be swept along the general stream of life according to this law, whether he wishes or not; but it is surely nobler and more worthy of mankind to know the course we are pursuing, to observe it rationally, and follow it consciously and with some independence of character. For all this you can supply proofs easily from your own experience.

You have, as I hear, though as yet I have not been able to procure it, published an article in your journal, called *Our Children*, which seeks to reconcile and harmonise my views as to the nature and life of man and the path of his development, etc., with the orthodox dogmatic or Church view; and I learn from letters of friends that your task has been performed in a way which calls for the highest approval and grateful acknowledg-

ment. You see in this the truth of what is said above. Here you are striving to find the middle-point wherewith to mediate and unite the two opposites, you are consciously aiming at balancing the two. If, therefore, you have acted from self-determination, from free-will, you have followed in every point the general forward sweep of the coming springtime of man's development towards self-consciousness. Here are displayed your position, your sphere of work, your scope of character as parts of the great unities of life and of mankind ; you are seen as working with full consciousness of the meaning of your efforts, towards uniting together the many-sided elements of life by means of mediation. This is the claim which life makes upon you, upon both of us ; it is the task of our individual and united lives.

What I have just been saying is in no wise to be taken as merely personal, or self-regarding, though it relates to myself ; it is, in truth, altogether relative to humanity at large. This is not a paradox, for everything that is acquired by a great unity, say by a family, a community, a nation, must in its beginnings be acquired by the single members of that unity ; and further, it will take them in one of the three grades of development, either that of mere *unconsciousness*, or of *vague feeling*, or in the third and highest grade, that of *conscious intelligence*, so far as it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time. This last grade, of course, includes but comparatively few amongst men, who, in consequence of their development above the general mass, will be the first to acquire the new truths.

It thus becomes our clear duty, without any selfish vanity or assumption of superiority—and especially is it your duty to steadily further the doctrine which has brought forth already blessed fruits, the doctrine that development is gained through the union obtained by the reconciliation of opposites.

If one desires to do vigorous and effective work in the service of an idea, one must fully comprehend that idea ; and the problem now resolves itself into *how* to work for the doctrine of the union of opposites.

I have said above that men may be sharply divided into three stages of culture, or, to be more accurate, I should have said

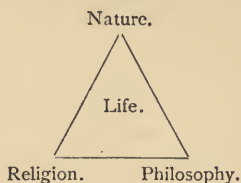
that in the progress of development three stages differentiate themselves and fall apart; and these stages are seen both in individual men and in the race as a whole. They are (1) *Unconsciousness*, the merely instinctive stage; (2) *Vague Feeling*, the tendency upwards towards consciousness; and (3) relatively clear *Conscious Intelligence*. We find also three attitudes, spheres of work, and regions of mind in man; (1) the region of the soul, the heart—*Feeling*; (2) the region of the mind, the head—*Intellect*; (3) the region of the active life, the putting forth to actual deed—*Will*.

As mental attitudes these three divisions seem the wider apart and the more opposed in their nature, the more we contemplate them; as spheres of work and regions of mind they seem quite separate and perfect opposites; in fine, they are entirely strange to each other, one might say they are at enmity with each other, as Theory and Practice, as Empiricism and Science, as Religion and Philosophy, as human, arbitrary, externally produced Manufacture and natural, ordered, internally developed Creation.

But the highest and most absolute opposition is that which most needs and necessitates reconciliation; complete opposites condition their uniting link. The highest grade of development, and therefore that with the sharpest opposites, is as we have seen, human life, such as we know it to-day, with all its varied phenomena. The need for the uniting link appears in every circumstance of life, and efforts to reconcile the clashing life-elements are perpetually made from all sides. To satisfy that need, to bring those efforts to a successful issue, is the most imperative task now set before the human race, before its communities, its families, and, indeed, before each individual man, according to the measure of his ability and sphere of his usefulness.

There are three main opposites in life which ever seek a mediating link, and which strive perpetually towards union—Religion, Philosophy (in all the varied forms of theory and practice, science and the conduct of life) and Nature; regarding Nature here as representing all physical life, everywhere developing itself by internal laws.

Considering these three opposites as ever engaged in efforts towards mutual reconciliation and union we might expressively represent them in a figure, thus :—



Now, with your educational enterprises, you have, as I conceive, the thing, begun to create this mutually mediating link, so desired and so conditioned ; and you have rightly apprehended the whole position and seen the way to meet the indicated conditions. For the *child*—the progressively developing *education of the child*—this is the mediating link, which can reconcile and unite all these opposites, and bring together what are now so widely separate. In the vocation in which you are more particularly engaged, and also in your literary work, and especially your journal, *Our Children*, you have rightfully given to the child his true position in the midst of these conflicting emotions.

You have so rightly apprehended the aims of our day, the needs of our time, and you have so vigorously set to work to fulfil them, that I claim of you, esteemed madam, that you shall go further and deeper and more comprehensively into the work ; that you shall not confine yourself to reconciling religion and philosophy by the truly mediating link which will unite them, but proceed to the harder task of reconciling the training of children in dogmatic theology, that is, the work now done in the schools of orthodox religious communities, with the education of children as it ought to be, governed purely by the laws of reason and of life.

According to my view, this is your lofty mission in life. In the place of the old dogmatically religious, orthodox Church teaching, you in your character of woman, of mother, will restore the child, the future man, to teaching governed by the laws of life and mind, to development, to culture, to true education ; and you will

realize that the strengthening of character, which we all agree to be a necessity of the age, is to be gained not only by stimulating the soul, and elevating the emotions, in one department of life, but by raising the whole mind, by training the intellect and the will.

Examine closely what I have said, I pray you. Nothing has been set down from personal motives, nor from arrogance. I have felt compelled to let you know how you and your work affect me, in my deepest, my inmost convictions; and to show you how I have considered it all from many various standpoints. I am convinced that in this way alone, can the efforts, the work, the will of Jesus become apparent in all their truth, and the meaning of His life be made clear and be acknowledged by all men—a consummation as devoutly to be wished by us in our character of men as in that of Christians. Then the soul would acknowledge and esteem the intellectual power, just as the intellect already recognises the soul as that which gives true warmth to our lives; and life as a whole would make manifest the soul, which quickens existence and gives it a meaning, as well as the intellect, which gives it precision and culture. Intellect, feeling and will would then unite, a many-sided power, to build up and rightly constitute our life. In the room of the unstable character which must result from the mere cultivation of one department of emotion, in the room of the doubt, or I might say empty negation, which too often proceeds from the mere cultivation of the intellect; in the room of the materialism, animalism and sensuality which must come from the mere attention to the bodily and physical side of our nature, we should then have the harmonious development of every side of our nature alike, we should be able to build up a life which would be everywhere in touch with God, with physical nature, with humanity at large. The life of mankind, of each individual, as well as of the communities into which individuals are gathered, from the single family up to the whole human race, will thus become a

“Combined work of God, of Nature and of Man.”

In this manner alone, by the unity given to human life, through

the reconciliation of its opposites, can the life of Jesus be manifested in humanity, in individual men and in the whole race.

It is scarcely possible, dealing with so much as I have here done, that I can have always made myself quite clear; but I have desired to give you a proof of the great esteem in which I hold you, of my recognition of the value of your work, and of the thankfulness I shall always feel towards you, and I have therefore spoken with perfect frankness and without circumlocution of our common work, or rather, to be accurate, of the relationships of our separate work, towards a common end.

This is neither the time nor place to thoroughly exhaust the subject, nor could I ever, perhaps, manage this in correspondence amidst the many claims on my life; but my intention is later on to develop its chief points in a general article upon it in the *Journal*.

It would be an excellent opportunity for talking over our whole work if you could arrange to take your holiday next summer in Liebenstein and Marienthal with us.

Believe me, with the highest esteem,

Yours,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

LETTER III.

Marienthal, 10th March, 1852.

ESTEEMED MADAM,—

I have derived much genuine pleasure from reading your article in No. 38 of the *Hamburg News*. You have done good service therein, not only to our cause, to the idea, but also to mankind, which searches for it knows not what. The idea itself is unshakably true, and the conviction of its truth has established itself now in the souls and minds of many men. The most pressing of all needs to-day is that each one should as clearly as possible ascertain his standpoint in society, and his relationship to the various mental attitudes and forms of effort which exist there. And how, then, can we, seeing how seldom truth offers herself to our eyes in this life, how can we do less

than announce this truth, which is so irresistibly borne in upon us? If the idea whose servants we both are, pledged with deepest conviction to its furtherance as our life-work, contains disturbing elements, or were limited in scope, one-sided—of actual falseness I need scarcely speak—it would be worth absolutely nothing, and in fact, would be altogether mischievous. Constant and close scrutiny from every possible standpoint is the one and only way in which to be assured of the truth of an idea; and this way you have adopted, esteemed madam, and this way you also recommend to others, and rightly so, as being their sole path to the desired goal.

You have understood me perfectly, and why should I refrain from cheerfully admitting that in these later days I can scarcely call to mind any one who has so thoroughly succeeded in attaining my point of view and in sharing my ideas as yourself? My endeavour is not to bring to market my individual views and personal experience in order to seek recognition for them, or, as it were, to find purchasers of them. No, my endeavour is to indicate certain universal facts of life, certain universal truths, to whose influence, I as well as every other man, with the whole personality formed by my intellect, my actions, my feelings, and my will, am subject, and which form the universal basis and groundwork of life, and give limits and conditions to its development. We see in clean, rich, fruitful soil how all sorts and species of various plants grow quite well, each developing according to its own habit, and true to the laws of its own kind; and just so, according to your testimony, can the most varied phases of belief build up their vigour from natures which are alike in having peace of mind, joy of heart, and freedom of action. Up till now I have drawn my closest friends, the keenest sympathisers with my work and my endeavours, from men of very various religious beliefs; the professors of my own religion alone are either my open foes, or, at least, are quite unsympathetic towards my ideas. Now you have demonstrated the folly of the two sources of weakness in our Church—enmity and indifference towards truth, so far as they are applied against my ideas; you have made yourself thoroughly acquainted with my life, which for fifty years has laid

open to the scrutiny of every one, in all its parts and with all its relationships; and you have acknowledged that during all my struggles to gain acceptance for demonstrative truths of life I have never made proselytes, nor instituted propaganda; my work has had but one aim, to set forth those truths of life which irresistibly show themselves upon examination to be the basis and condition of life, so that they may lie bare and open to the scrutiny of every man. So shall we all, to our great peace of mind, attain to the knowledge of these general truths, which are of universal and fundamental application, and which give us support in individual instances also. Every one can now examine for himself, and he who refuses to examine stands self-condemned.

Blessings, in time and in eternity, be upon your head, because you, with your orthodox views, have nevertheless called men to this grave inquiry. May your proposal, your invitation, your desire, meet with every attention and have rich results; may girls arrive from all denominations, according to your wishes, and present themselves as students of your course upon educational principles; and may they, without polemical wrangling, and still less with feelings of enmity drawn from religious motives, closely scrutinise the truth you lay before them; then will they take it to their bosom and let it melt deep into their inmost nature, and become a part of their very being, especially in regard to the religious aspect of it; and they will give it out again to others as the whole and entire unity which it will thus have become to themselves.

The half-hearted, undetermined, characterless condition of German life to-day is fast becoming intolerable to the man of character, powerful in will and deed. Wherefore I have made a firm resolve, that if the conditions of German life will not allow room for the development of honest efforts for the good of humanity (and the present conditions are such as to make one think of the sword of Damoklês, and expect its speedy fall); if this indifference to all higher things continues—then it is my purpose next spring to seek in the land of union and independence a soil where my idea of education, as a force working towards unity of

life and power of life, may strike firm root.¹ This is the present aim and object of my work. I will tell you in confidence, honoured madam, that only to-day I have sent off a very definite statement to the United States, where I have a most estimable energetic brother-in-law. And besides I know in whom I trust, I have put my trust in Him from my youth up, and I am without fear or trembling, without nervousness or apprehension as to my personal concerns, therefore.

As I am quite sure that in your earnest inquiries and work everything that throws clear light on the various relationships and views of life, such as prevail at the present day, or are seeking to prevail, is welcome to you, I venture to recommend to you a treatise in the *Germania* which would well repay your study. It is called "Germany and the Home Mission," and runs through three numbers (6, 7, and 9). It is by Dr. Gwinner, of Frankfurt, and is written in an extremely quiet manner, regarding the subject objectively. I think you will like it much, and am anxious for your frank account of what impression it makes upon you. I especially recommend to your notice the ninth number of the first volume; for if I rightly understand the appendix to your recent publication, it says that we must before all else strive to raise the science of teaching (*paedagogik*) into a united whole, and we may then use it as a starting-point from which to proceed through many various faiths, and with full recognition of their religious differences, but with perfect mutual toleration among them, to the attainment of true religious peace between all Churches. To win this holy result let us unite heart, head, and hand; soul, mind, and action; feeling, intellect, and will; religion, philosophy, and education; intuition, experience and observation.

With the highest esteem,

I am, Yours sincerely,

FR. FROEBEL.

¹ This was written in March, 1852; but in June all his plans were to cease for ever.

(2.)

Letter to Mlle. Johanna Hebert, Kindergarten Teacher
at Nuremberg.

Mariantal, 22nd Nov., 1851.

DEAR JOHANNA,—

I wanted specially to add a request of my own to the letter my wife sent you yesterday, but I could not find time for it.

You tell us that in Nuremberg, also, the Kindergartens belonging to the Free Christians are prohibited, and that two official proposals have been made to you as to your future : either to continue your Kindergarten work on your own responsibility, under the name of a *crèche*, or to keep the name of Kindergarten on condition of joining the Church.

My request to you is that you write to me as quickly as possible what you think of doing, so that we may not permit the somewhat favourable relationships which have formed around you and the movement to be wasted ; and I have important suggestions to make to you in this connection.

If you desire to know my views upon the proposals made to you, but without at present receiving their explanation, or any statement of the grounds upon which I base them (for which I have no time), they are shortly these. As regards the first, relating to the change of name, I would not, I could not, agree to it. Why should truth be ashamed to bear her own name ? For if it is agreed, as I have said to you hundreds and thousands of times, that truth will make us free, why is adherence to the name of truth to be less effective in this case ?

As to the second proposal, it touches, I admit, a very tender and difficult point ; but its difficulty merely lies, as my deepest conviction will have it, in the present imperfection of our knowledge. If all those good folks who go about ordering and altering, and turning topsy-turvy all the relations of life, had but been clearer and more perfect in their knowledge, we should not have had to submit to this sorrowful and confusing period, whence as yet nothing seems to be coming to release us.

If my teaching and the life of all of us here are still fresh in your memory, you must remember that one of the fundamental truths which we all feel irresistibly impelled to acknowledge, is this: All things develop—little things or great, internal or external, unconscious or perfectly conscious—through fast maintenance of the bond of inner connection and relationship. This bond of inner connection may, however, permit of countless changes of various external forms, and yet be all the while truly maintained at bottom. The endeavour to hold fast the true inner connection of things is the main pillar, the foundation stone of our life and work here. You know that we and you all lived here in joy, peace, and freedom: and I may add that our present students, who have a very good mutual understanding amongst themselves, live even more happily than their predecessors, for they are as happy as children, or as one of them put it in childish fashion a couple of days since—"she did not think the angels in heaven could be any happier than she was!" In this joyful way, amidst this peacefulness, with all this freedom of soul, mind and life, am I to be regarded as cut off from my mother Church? Or do I not rather, as I think, live in her midst, and in perfect union with her? Is all this merely phenomenal, or is it truth? Does our happiness rest on vague emotion, on mystic phrases, or on clear intuitions of nature, of intellect, and of life? Does it not rest upon the everlasting laws of thought, independent of all outside interference or condition, embodied in our very speech itself, that is, in the laws governing that mother tongue which has originated from our own brain? And further, dear Johanna, you have not only a theoretical, *i.e.*, an intellectual argument to guide you in this; but you have also a considerable experience, covering many things and much time, that is to say, a practical argument, that it *is* possible for one to live truly and uprightly and at peace inwardly, and to develop one's nature peacefully, joyfully, and freely; and this all the better within the mother-church than without, as I truly believe; and I have all the experience of my seventy years to convince me of it.

This frank expression of opinion is not meant as a piece of propaganda, nor to talk you over, but simply as a faithful answer to

your second proposal. I think the Kindergarten should be carried on as a Kindergarten, you returning to church-membership. Do not forget, moreover, that Kindergartens have only arisen in the Protestant Evangelical Church, and could not have proceeded from any other. Again let me say, this is and must be taken only as the answer to your questions as to what we thought of the proposals made to you.

Write quickly and tell me how all goes, and what you think of doing. I can tell you of a place now open, if you wish : Madame S—— has again left Kiel, and wants a successor for the Kindergarten she has begun there. This letter has grown under the pen beyond what I thought to write when I sat down ; but I hope its length is not to the detriment of its whole effect.

Luise, the ever-thoughtful vigorous mistress of our household, greets you as a true friend ; and I also, in a fatherly spirit.

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(3.)

Letter to Mlle. Lisette Kirchner, at Nuremberg.

Marienthal, 23rd Nov., 1851.

MY DEAR LISETTE,—

If I do not mistake, I am a letter in your debt : but even if I were not, I am impelled to write to you. The Bavarian Kindergartens are now prohibited, at all events those belonging to the Free Christians, that is, such as those which you have hitherto been conducting. Now, what are you going to do ? I beg you earnestly to write and tell me as quickly as possible, that we may come to well thought-out decisions worthy of the circumstances, and that we may choose the right path.

As I hear, your comrade was informed, being known as a Free Christian, that she could only be permitted to carry on the Kindergarten in her own name, if she rejoined her mother-church ; you, my dear Lisette, have never left your mother-church, you have remained in it, like myself—a position which seems of the highest importance in the present state of things. While you were studying with us, you gained the conviction that

one could live a truly Christian life, and more particularly a life based upon the Protestant Evangelical doctrines, and yet have a perfectly joyful and free existence, expressive of the entire being of a man, and permitting the development of the character in such a way as to satisfy all the many-sided wants of our being.

Therefore, as regards you, dear Lisette, if I am rightly informed, it would be quite in consonance with the laws of your state for you to conduct a Kindergarten in your own name. If I am not in error, and this is so, it would be a great gain for the cause ; for it would be at once apparent that the prohibition did not touch the principles of the Kindergarten, nor its fundamental basis. Such a practical proof of this would be in the highest degree important. So write to me, I beg, what you are willing to do, and what steps it would be necessary to take for the establishment of a real Kindergarten in your name at Nuremberg.

I have heard that you have been asked for my publications, that they might be examined as to the orthodoxy of the religious basis which underlies them and all my other endeavours, of course including the Kindergarten. I enclose you a pair of publications herewith, some twenty or thirty years old, it is true, but which faithfully exhibit my thoughts upon Christianity and the Church. To these thoughts I have never been unfaithful, never even once wavering in all these years. Perhaps it would be a good thing to present these works to the same person who asked you for the others.

In the pamphlet entitled "A Thorough Education, etc.,"¹ please allow me to call your attention to passages on pp. 6 and 7.

1. "Every form of education which is intended to be really fruitful, must be based upon religion, . . ." etc., etc.

2. "The Christian religion, the religion of Jesus, satisfies to perfect completeness the mutual relations of God and man ; and indeed creates them. . . ."

3. "Every form of education which is not based upon the Christian religion, the religion of Jesus, is deficient and limited."

¹ The full title of this pamphlet (published in 1821) occurs in the following letter.

4. (Page 20) "Through Jesus came to us that deepest of all truths, and that profoundest of all experiences—God is our Father."

And in my "Principles of the Education of Man" (pp. 1, 16, 23), please read over the passages referring to religion, and point out the places indicated to the same person when you give him the pamphlet.

This unbroken lifelong faithfulness of mine towards my original thoughts, convictions and efforts as to religious and Church subjects is amply shown, as you very well know, in "Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs" (*Mutter- und Kose-Lieder*), which is the basis of Kindergarten teaching—and indeed, in all my other publications. Such unalterable maintenance of my position all through the gradual clearing of my conceptions on such matters, and through their steady application to the problems of life, my unchanged religious thoughts, convictions, and endeavours, all moulded by the spirit, teaching and example of Jesus, are a source of pride to me, bring calm, security, and permanence to my mind, peace and joy to my soul, freedom to my actions—and all these blessed results rejoice me as but various manifestations of one and the same essential unity.

You, dear Lisette, an independent student, a daughter, so to speak, and a teacher, as you love to call yourself in describing your position to me, have now to think if—and how—you can base your future action upon ground-principles. Write me your decision upon the matter of this letter, for we must see that life, whenever possible, is made clear, true, and certain.

Make no secret of anything about me, my life, my teaching, my publications, or my conferences on first principles: whatever I have said I will abide by. In all my actions I have aimed at clearness of life, thought, speech, and action.

My wife, myself, and all here who know you unite in kind wishes towards you—especially

Your fatherly Friend,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

(4.)

Letter to Henriette Breymann¹ (now Madame Schrader, of Berlin), at Baden.

Marienthal, 6th February, 1852.

Dr. Gwinner, of Frankfurt, has published three articles in the *Germania*, in the first of which he shows the real essence and the unsatisfactory nature of Wichern's "Home Mission"²; and in the third and last, while fully admitting the necessity of raising the moral status of the people, he shows that Wichern's "Home Mission" is not calculated to do this work, and, indeed, does not seem fitly planned for the purpose. He would, on the other hand, rather seek the means of elevating the people, the means of their salvation, if you please to call it so, in education. The German nation can be morally saved, in his view, only through education, and he therefore speaks of a "Mission of Education." You see, then, that Dr. Gwinner, in thus considering the life of the German people, agrees entirely with me in the supreme point of all; for you know very well that in 1821 I wrote a pamphlet on this special subject, as the very title of it shows at a glance, "A thorough education—at once creating and satisfying the German character—the primary necessity of the German nation." All my educational work has reposed on this basis ever since, and, indeed, had done so for years before that pamphlet was issued. This is one fact of sufficient importance. But if you go further, and carefully examine our educational system, beginning with the baby

¹ Froebel's grand-niece.

² J. H. Wichern was born in 1808, at Hamburg, and studied at Göttingen and Berlin. After taking orders, he turned his whole attention to the miserable condition of the poor in his native city, and in his Sunday-schools soon had 400 to 500 children about him, whose lives he sought to elevate; a staff of forty or fifty volunteers aiding his efforts. About 1840 his activity was very great, including refuges, homes for the fallen, etc. In 1848 he combined all his philanthropic work, and extended it, under the title of the Home Mission (*Innere Mission*). From 1848 to 1850 he had 10,000 orphans on his hands, victims of the scourge of typhus then raging, and entrusted to him by the Prussian Government. Later on, his efforts reached the houses of correction and prisons; and, in fact, his whole life was one long labour in the cause of poor and suffering humanity.

on the mother's knee, and continuing through the nursery to the Kindergarten, then through the transition class to actual teaching instruction, and if you compare it with what Dr. Gwinner has said here about the essential nature of education—this education which he claims shall save the people, in his “Mission of Education”—you must surely perceive, as I do, a second and still more important fact :—that his “Mission of Education” aims at precisely the sort of training which we actually give, and which we seek to give with wider and ever wider extension. All the time I was reading these articles this close similarity of his thought and our work was present to me, so that I kept saying to myself that some one must quickly set to work to proclaim that it is the Kindergarten system that provides the sort of education fitted to fulfil all the needs of the “Mission of Education.” Have you read the article attentively, my dear niece? Have you not had the same thoughts? And then, when it becomes imperatively necessary for Dr. Gwinner to describe the sort of education we are to seek for, he only says (p. 612), “We can but forecast its nature, and strive to aid in the common work of attaining it.” But do not I—do not we all—know that German education should be a national German work? Did I not say this in 1836? Have I not said so in all my publications for this last thirty years?

And what does he say next? “A total reform of the present education of the young must be the first comprehensive and really practical step.” Is this anything other than the very title of my pamphlet of 1820, “A Thorough Education, etc.” Then he says: “In what sense such a reform should be understood is clearly seen from the preceding.” But what is the “preceding” other than what I have said all along, from 1816 to 1852, and with especial clearness since 1838 and 1840, through the Kindergarten? Further, “Only a few tentative beginnings—but even as such, remarkable—show the genius, the zeal, and the courage whose uprising the spirit of history awaits.” When you read this, did you not expect, would not any one expect, who knows even only a little about my educational work and aims, that in connection with these “few tentative beginnings of the genius, etc.,” Dr. Gwinner would surely refer to our work, which has existed for

thirty years as a "thorough educational system, creating and satisfying the German character"? Did it not seem that he must notice this as a national work, both by aim and act? What does he do, whither does he point our attention, while not one institution of ours only, but half a hundred actually exist, and afford hundreds of proofs of the success of the system they embody? He, a German, seeking to found a "Mission of Education" in Germany, goes out of Germany for his pattern! He directs us to model ourselves on a certain Swiss institution, and that, moreover, one whose spirit was not strong enough to maintain its existence, for, as is well known in Switzerland, and especially in the Canton of Bern, the ruling spirit of this place was a spirit of egotism, and in consequence of this the institution went to pieces years ago, and has now quite fallen into ruin.¹ That is the way he cherishes and advances German life and endeavour, German sensibility and intelligence, and that is his compliment to German scholarship! Seeing all this, I think that we Froebelians (and by Froebelians I mean those who conceive the germinating point, the seed-leaves, the very life-source of progressively developed human education, to be contained in the dogma that "life is one," that all the varied life of man is to be regarded and treated as a single unity), that we Froebelians, I say, should now put forward our claims and our views in some comprehensive manifesto, setting forth our fundamental principles, our accomplished work, and our lives; for we can very well join all this on to the articles before us, simply and solidly, as an expansion and completion of Dr. Gwinner's views therein made known; but the immediate result of such a manifesto would be to show that the progressively developed education for which we have so long striven is, in fact, such as completely satisfies Dr. Gwinner's demand for a "Mission of Education." The proposed article or

¹ This unkind reference to Pestalozzi's practical failure is yet not without truth. We do not understand the word "egotism" to be levelled at Pestalozzi (which would be absurd), but at his staff, such as Niederer, Schmid, etc. It is a pity that Froebel did not pause a moment in his argument to acknowledge the permanent, as well as to point out the fallacious and transitory, elements of the work of his great predecessor.

manifesto must be made throughout to refer continually to Dr. Gwinner's articles, and must move from subject to subject in parallel lines with them. When written, it had better be published in our journal, and the number containing it should at once be sent to Dr. Gwinner and to the editor of the *Germania*. Arndt himself is now too old to do much on that paper, and merely lends it, as titular editor, his name, his good wishes, and his patriotic efforts, which continue to form the footing upon which it is conducted. I would have gladly sketched the proposed manifesto myself, but time fails me for such a task. Now, on p. 616 of the *Germania* in the notes, you will find that this very article of Dr. Gwinner's acknowledges the collective power of women in an educational capacity; and since you have a ready pen, and are not at this moment overburdened with weighty business, I look to you for such an article as I have described. At the same time, many can lend you a hand with it, for the ground to be covered is extensive, and the matters to be dealt with are of profound importance.

I think I have now fully explained what I mean by sending you Dr. Gwinner's articles, and what I desire and expect of you. But in such cases the ultimate decision rests with the person to whom the request is made: it is you yourself, in fact, who have to decide upon the acceptance or rejection of the task. Yet I may point out one thing, which has long been upon my mind to say. In laying the foundations for our work towards inward and outward unity of life, mention is frequently made of "Froebelians." Now, such an expression is not only dead against my own feeling, not only contradicts my own convictions, but also works against our very aim and object, the unification of life. For all "ans" and "ites" have shown themselves throughout history to be sources of division, not of unification; and yet it is unification that is the purpose and end of life; to find unity in variety; and to recognise the one in the all. Why is it that these personal sectarian names, these "ans" and "ites," are sources of division? Why, if not just because they *are* personal, and all that is personal is separatist, carries the seed of division within its nature. In one sense, and that a sense by no means to be passed over, these 'sectarian

names are a source of union and strength amongst their own adherents, but the sect, as a whole, means division. Wherefore I have always refrained from using personal names in my undertakings. For example, not the "Froebelian," but the "General Educational Institution for Germany"; and in Blankenburg, not "Froebel's Children's Educational Institution," but the "Institution for the Promotion of Spontaneous Activity in Children," or the "Institution for Children's Occupations," or the "Kindergarten"; and so also in Switzerland, and everywhere else that I have worked. The expression "Froebelian" divides you from me, divides me from you; we seem to stand opposed to one another, and only in our capacity of fellow "ans" or "ites" are we united. But I hope, on the contrary, that we are altogether at one, altogether united, in being, aim, and life, in regard to the main principles of our work and action, as I have often said before. Let us call ourselves the "Lovers of Unity," if you please, and by such a name the element of complete personal individuality is not at all excluded; or if this seems colourless to you, and since those who live for unification of life must of necessity be filled with peace and joy, we might call ourselves, if you think it better, the "Lovers of Peace and Joy." However, this is a question which had better remain, awaiting the free development of life for its settlement; it is sufficient to have mentioned it this once.

Now you have plenty to work at for a long time! Luise sends her kind wishes, and all the students greet you. Do you know that Ottilie Baring is to go to Switzerland? As for the rest, we have excellent news from many various regions.

In love and truth, I remain,

Your affectionate Great-Uncle,

FRIEDRICH FROEBEL.

THE END.

CHRONOLOGICAL ABSTRACT OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF FROEBEL AND THE KINDER- GARTEN MOVEMENT.

- 1746. Birth of Pestalozzi.
- 1770. June 24. Birth of Christian Ludwig Froebel.
- 1780. Sept. 17. Birth of Froebel's first wife, Henriette Wilhelmine Hoffmeister, at Berlin.
- 1782. April 21. *Birth of Friedrich August Wilhelm Froebel*, at Oberweissbach, Thuringia.
- 1792. Froebel is sent to Superintendent Hoffman (his mother's brother) in Stadt-Ilm.
Sept. 3. Birth of Heinrich Langethal, at Erfurt.
- 1793. Sept. 20. Birth of Wilhelm Middendorff, at Brechten, near Dortmund, Westphalia.
- 1797. Froebel is sent to Neuhaus, in the Thuringian Forest, to learn forestry.
- 1799. Returns home ; goes thence to the University of Jena.
- 1801. Leaves Jena (having closed his student's career there with nine weeks' imprisonment for debt), and begins to study farming with a relative of his father's, near Hildburghausen.
Dec. 29. Birth of Middendorff's wife, Albertine Froebel, eldest daughter of Christian Froebel.
- 1802. Death of Froebel's father. Froebel becomes actuary to the Forest Department of the episcopal State of Bamberg.
Nov. 29. Birth of Johannes Arnold Barop, at Dortmund, Westphalia.
- 1803. Froebel goes to Bamberg, and takes part in the governmental land-survey, Bamberg now passing to Bavaria.
- 1804. Becomes Secretary and Accountant first to Herr v. Wöldersdorf, in Baireuth, and afterwards to Herr v. Dewitz, in Gross Milchow, Mecklenburg.
July 11. Birth of Barop's wife, Emilie Froebel, second daughter of Christian Froebel.
- 1805. Death of Superintendent Hoffman. Froebel, going to study architecture at Frankfurt, is persuaded instead to become a teacher in the Model School, under Gruner. Visits Pestalozzi at Yverdon.
- 1807. Froebel becomes tutor to the sons of Herr v. Holzhausen near Frankfurt.

1808. Goes with his pupils to Pestalozzi, at Yverdon.
1809. Draws up an account of Pestalozzi's work for the Princess of Rudolstadt.
1810. Froebel returns from Yverdon to Frankfurt.
1811. Proceeds to the University of Göttingen, in July.
1812. Thence to the University of Berlin, in October.
1813. Enlists in Lutzow's Chasseurs (Langethal and Middendorff also serving) to resist Napoleon's invasion. His eldest brother, (Christoph), dies of typhus while nursing French prisoners in hospital.
1814. Jan. 5. Birth of Elise Froebel (Madame Schaffner), youngest daughter of Christian Froebel.
May 30. Peace of Paris. In August Froebel becomes assistant professor in the Mineralogical Museum of the University of Berlin.
1815. April 15. Birth of Froebel's second wife, Luise Levin.
1816. Nov. 13. Froebel founds his *Universal German Educational Institute*, in Griesheim.
1817. The School is transferred to Keilhau. Arrival of Langethal and Middendorff.
1818. Froebel marries Mlle. Henriette Wilhelmine Hoffmeister.
1820. Christian Froebel arrives at Keilhau with his wife and daughters. Froebel writes *To the German People*.
1821. Froebel publishes privately, *Principles, Aims, and Inner Life of the Universal German Educational Institute at Keilhau*; and also *Aphorisms*.
1822. Followed by *On German Education*, especially as regards the Univ. Germ. Ed. Inst. at Keilhau, and *On The Univ. Germ. Ed. Inst. at Keilhau*.
1823. Publishes *Continuation of the Account of the Univ. Germ. Ed. Inst., at Keilhau*.
1824. And *Christmas at Keilhau*.
1826. Middendorff marries Froebel's niece, Albertine, and Langethal marries Ernestine Chrispine, the adopted daughter of Madame Henriette Froebel. Froebel publishes the *Education of Man, (Menschen-Erziehung)*. Later he founds the weekly *Family Journal of Education*.
1827. Death of Pestalozzi. Froebel writes his autobiographical *Letter to the Duke of Meiningen*, never completed. (Translated in the "Autobiography of Froebel.")
1828. Second autobiographical sketch in a *Letter to Krause* (translated in the "Autobiography of Froebel." Barop joins Keilhau.
1829. Plan drawn up by Froebel and his friends, for the Duke of Meiningen, for a National Educational Institute, at Helba.
1830. Death of Wilhelm Carl, one of the Keilhau community, by drowning in the Saale.
1831. Froebel breaks with the Duke of Meiningen, and gives up the Helba project. Goes to Frankfurt, meets the musical com-

- poser, Schnyder, and accepts his offer of his castle at Wartensee, near Sempach, Luzern.
- The Institution at Wartensee opened by Froebel and his nephew Ferdinand. Barop marries Emilie Froebel.
1832. Barop goes to Wartensee, and soon afterwards the school is transferred to Willisau, Luzern. Froebel at Keilhau for a short time.
1833. Madame Henriette Froebel joins her husband at Willisau. The authorities engage Froebel to lecture to young teachers at Burgdorf. Langenthal replaces Barop, who returns from Willisau to Keilhau.
1835. Froebel and Madame Henriette Froebel, with Langenthal, undertake the foundation of an orphanage and school for the Canton of Bern, at Burgdorf.
1836. Middendorff and Elise Froebel come from Keilhau to join Ferdinand Froebel at Willisau. Froebel writes *The New Year, 1836, demands a Renewal of Life*.
1836. Madame Henriette Froebel's health gives way, and Froebel takes his wife to Berlin. Ferdinand Froebel and Langenthal succeed him at Burgdorf.
1837. Froebel begins to work out his series of gifts and occupations. Opens an Institution for the education of little children at Blankenburg. X
1838. Froebel begins his *Sunday Journal (Sonntagsblatt)*, which continues till 1840.
1839. Froebel and Middendorff visit Dresden and found "Institution for Care of Little Children," under Adolf Frankenberg, and next year a similar school in Frankfurt, under Hochstetter and Schneider.
- Death of Madame Henriette Froebel.
1840. Festival of the 400th anniversary of the invention of printing. Creation of the *Universal German Kindergarten*, at Blankenburg, as a joint stock company. The first Kindergarten is opened in Blankenburg, June 28, and the second at Rudolstadt, on the first Tuesday in December. Henceforward Froebel and Middendorff make frequent journeys from Keilhau to various parts of Germany to promote the Kindergarten movement.
1841. Third Kindergarten opened in January, at Gera, by Madame Schmidt, Froebel's cousin; see Part II. of this volume, which consists of twenty letters to her on this subject. March. Printing of a collection of *Koseliedchen* by Froebel.
1843. Publication of Froebel's *Songs for Mothers and Nursery Songs (Mutter- und Kose-Lieder)*. X
1844. Fourth Kindergarten opened under Ida Seele, at Darmstadt. Froebel makes a tour for propaganda amongst the Rhine Main, and Neckar districts.
1846. Fifth Kindergarten opened, at Quetz, under Pastor Hildenhagen and his sister-in-law, Amalie Krüger.

1847. Ten more Kindergartens opened : Homburg (Madame Müller), Dresden (Luise Frankenberg), Gratz, Marienberg, Annaburg, Hildburghausen, Zöblitz, Erfurt, Lünen (Marie Christ), and Gotha (Herr August Köhler).
1848. Opening of the Hamburg Kindergarten, under Alwine Middendorff, by Madame Doris-Lütken. General Congress of teachers called by Froebel at Rudolstadt. Second journey to Dresden in the autumn.
1849. Froebel settles at Liebenstein, intending to train Kindergarten teachers there, and appoints Mlle. Luise Levin directress of his training college. Fölsing's bitter pamphlet against *Froebelian Kindergartens* answered at once by Madame Doris Lütken, in *Froebel's Kindergartens*. Continuation of the controversy by the same opponents in the journal *Our Children*. Propaganda work at Hamburg, first by Middendorff, then by Froebel.
1850. Froebel returns to Liebenstein. Through the influence of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow he receives the neighbouring country seat of Marienthal from the Duke of Meiningen for the purposes of his Training College. Founds the *Weekly Journal of Education* (*Wochenschrift*, etc.), under the editorship of Wichard Lange. Elise Froebel marries Dr. Siegfried Schaffner.
1851. Jan. 9. Death of Christian Ludwig Froebel.
 Aug. 7. Entire *Prohibition of the Kindergarten* in Prussia by the Education Minister, Von Raumer. Bavaria follows suit in November, so far as regards all Kindergartens except those attached to the orthodox Protestant churches.
 July. Froebel's (second) marriage to Mlle. Luise Levin. Foundation of the *Journal for Friedrich Froebel's Educational Aims* (*Zeitschrift*, etc.).
1852. April. Froebel attends the Educational Congress at Gotha, under the presidency of Theodor Hoffman.
 June 21. *Death of Froebel*.
 College at Marienthal removed to Keilhau and placed under Middendorff, Madame Luise Froebel also assisting.
1853. Middendorff enthusiastically received by the Congress at Salzungen, when addressing it on Froebelian methods.
 Nov. 27. *Death of Middendorff*. Keilhau under Madame Luise Froebel.
1854. Madame Luise Froebel goes to Dresden in the spring to assist Dr. Bruno Marquardt (husband of Luise Frankenberg) in his Kindergarten and Training College ; Keilhau ceasing to be a Training College. Goes to Hamburg in the autumn as directress of the Public Free Kindergarten, and trains teachers there. (She is still earnest in the cause ; and still resides at Hamburg, 1890.)
- ✕ *First Kindergarten in England, at Hampstead.*
 Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow begins her long series of mis-

- sionary journeys in favour of the Kindergarten by coming to England, 1854-5.
- Madame Ronge founds the Kindergarten in Fitzroy Square, London—the first English Kindergarten of any importance—and not long after transfers it to Miss Praetorius, herself going to Manchester to lecture, etc. The outcome of this was the foundation of the Manchester Kindergarten Association, the oldest Kindergarten Society in England.
1855. Herr H. Hoffmann, of Hamburg, lectures in London.
1860. Aug. 18. Death of Madame Barop (Emilie Froebel).
Foundation of the Froebel Society of Berlin.
1861. Miss Heerwart comes to England to conduct the Kindergarten at Miss Barton's school, at Manchester, and Madame de Portugall that at Mrs. Fretwell's school, also at Manchester. Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow founds the *Education of To-day* (*Erziehung der Gegenwart*), edited by Dr. Karl Schmidt, of Köthen.
1866. Miss Doreck (who had come to England in 1857) establishes a school with Kindergarten attached, in Kildare Gardens, London (removes in 1870 to Kensington Gardens Square). Miss Heerwart goes to Dublin; establishes a Kindergarten.
1873. Establishment of the Pestalozzi-Froebel-House at Berlin, under Madame Schrader, by the National Kindergarten Society, Friedrichstadt, Berlin.
1874. April. Madame Michaelis, who had been engaged in Kindergarten work in Switzerland and Italy, comes to England. Is appointed in the summer to lecture to the School Board teachers at Croydon. Founds Croydon Kindergarten with Mrs. Berry, January, 1875.
November. The London School Board appoint Miss Bishop to lecture on the Kindergarten system to their infant school-mistresses.
Miss Heerwart becomes principal of the Stockwell Training College, under the British and Foreign School Society.
- November. *Foundation of the Froebel Society of London* by Miss Doreck (President), Miss Heerwart, Miss Bishop, Madame Michaelis, Prof. Joseph Payne, and Miss Manning. Miss Shirreff (President in 1877 and ever since), Mrs. Wm. Grey, Miss Mary Gurney, and other educationists, joined very soon afterwards.
1876. First examination for Kindergarten teachers held by the Froebel Society. Madame de Portugall chief examiner.
1879. *Death of Langethal*. The Froebel Society founds a Training College in the autumn. (Transferred to the Maria Grey College in 1883.)
1880. May. The Croydon Kindergarten Company (Ltd.) is founded, with Madame Michaelis as its head-mistress.
1882. Centenary of Froebel's birth. Concert at Willis' Rooms in aid of Blankenburg Memorial Kindergarten. Soirée at Stock-

- well Training College. Monument at Blankenburg, erected at the cost of Madame von Marenholtz-Bülow.
1883. Foundation of the Bedford Kindergarten Co. Head-mistress, Miss Sim.
Miss Heerwart leaves England to re-found the Blankenburg Kindergarten.
1884. January. Dr. Wichard Lange (Middendorff's son-in-law, and editor of the standard edition of Froebel's works) died.
May. International Exhibition at South Kensington, London, on Health and Education, at which a Kindergarten section, with an exhibition of work and materials, and with model lessons at weekly intervals, was arranged by the British and Foreign School Society, all the London Kindergartens (including Croydon) contributing.
August. Conference on Infant Education in the Exhibition; M. Buels of Brussels, Prof. Stoy of Jena, Madame la Comtesse Dinan of Paris, and all the leading English Froebelians taking part.
October. Close of the section by a Conference of the Kindergarten teachers of England.
1887. June. The Manchester Kindergarten Association joins the Froebel Society of London to create the National Froebel Union—an examining body for Kindergarten teachers and governesses. The Croydon Company was already represented on the Froebel Society's Council.
1888. March. The Bedford Kindergarten Company joins the National Froebel Union.
The Froebel Society begins the work of testing the Kindergarten work of the London School Board by examination.
Frederick III., Emperor of Germany (son-in-law of Queen Victoria), amongst the few acts of his brief reign, pensions Madame Luise Froebel.
1889. The Manchester Kindergarten Association withdraws from the National Froebel Union.
1890. Monument to Pestalozzi, erected by public subscription, at Yverdon. Inscribed: "To Pestalozzi, 1746-1827. He lived like a beggar, to show beggars how they ought to live like men. Saviour of the poor in Neuhof. Father of the orphans in Stanz. Founder of the popular school in Burgdorf. Educator of men in Yverdon. All for others, nothing for himself."

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